A COMMENTARY ON

VIRGIL:
AENEID VIII

MNEMOSYNE

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A COMMENTARY ON VIRGIL: AENEID VIII

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL MCMLXXV

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BY

P. T. EDEN

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL MCMLXXV

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SACRUM

CONTENTS

Preface ix
Works cited and abbreviations used . xi
Introduction . . . xv
Aeneid VIII: the material . . xvii
Aeneid VIII: structure and coherence xx

Commentary . . 1
Appendix. *Metre and Verse* 193
Indexes 202

PREFACE

This commentary may be used with the text and apparatus of any edition of *Aeneid* VIII. Textual problems of significance are fully discussed, and an ample number of specimens provided of the treatment to be given to the aberrant and trivial.

'A great deal of the commentary on Virgil has become tralatician', says Mr John Sparrow (*Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* 138), but to ignore it is folly. My debt to earlier commentators and critics, Servius *in primis*, Heyne and Wagner, Conington and Nettleship, Page, Mackail, Norden, and Austin, will be evident, if only from disagreements with them. But of course there are new questions to be raised, and more often new solutions to be offered to some very old problems.

Virgil's many-sided achievement is unique in the literature of the classical world. He stood at the convergence of diverse cultural forces and literary traditions and harmonised them. He imposed on succeeding generations a linguistic revolution of his own making (so that frequently, like Heyne (on *Aeneid* VIII, 30), *monemus hoc, quod plerique verba tenent, causas sermonis ignorant*). He achieved the definitive perfection of his chosen verse-medium. The individual factors contributing to these results acquire significance only if they are seen in their contexts of development and association. No apology, therefore, is offered for the detailed scrutiny to which some of them are subjected; on the contrary, I am very conscious of how inadequate some of the discussion may appear to experts in individual fields.

Entirely subjective reactions to Virgil's poetry, especially if based on standards quite alien to him, as is fashionably the case, may inspire enthusiasm, but of the wrong kind and for the wrong reason: they will not be found. Observations on such topics as allegory, symbolism and structure attempt to reflect the circumspect modesty of the scholars who first drew attention to these aspects of Virgil's composition (connoisseurs of the Virgilian literature of the last two decades will be aware of bibliographical omissions: the reason can usually be found in reviews, by myself and others).

I am deeply in debt to the help of friends. Professor R. D. Williams gave me the benefit of his ripe wisdom at an early stage. Dr N. M.

Horsfall checked the details of a later draft with painstaking thoroughness. Miss Susan French prepared the final typescript with exemplary accuracy. Mr P. R. Horne gave unstinting care to proof-reading. The unfailing courtesy of the publishers and the skill and efficiency of the printers relieved me of many anxieties in the final stages. I offer them all my sincere thanks.

London
New Year's Day 1975 P. T. E.

LIST OF CHIEF WORKS CITED AND ABBREVIATIONS USED

The following is a list of authors and works referred to in the commentary in an abbreviated form; it may therefore serve as a highly select bibliography. *An author's name alone in the commentary refers to his work listed below.* Abbreviations for some individual works are shown in brackets. References to periodicals follow in general the system of *L'Année Philologique*. *ALL* = *Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie*; *CAH* = *Cambridge Ancient History*; *CIL* = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*; *LS* = Lewis and Short's *Latin Dictionary*; *OCT* = *Oxford Classical Text*; *PW* = Pauly-Wissowa (-Kroll), *Real-Encyclopädie*; *TLL* = *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.*

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INTRODUCTION

AENEID VIII: THE MATERIAL

In skeletal terms of the main narrative of the *Aeneid* rather less than ten lines of Book VIII (494-6, 603-7) actually forward the story, those that describe Aeneas' departure to take command of the leaderless Etrucans; and from this very limited and superficial viewpoint the action of the book could be entitled 'Aeneas' Departure'. To inaugurate the 'Iliadic' half of the *Aeneid* Virgil had to provide Aeneas with troops, and in sufficient number to withstand the combined Latin allies; there was no plausible alternative to the Etruscans, and Virgil chose them, even though his choice involved him in a total recasting of the traditional account of the early relations between Latium and Etruria.

Other incidents of the book, however, are so closely connected with the main narrative that they must have been part of Virgil's original conception and appeared in his prose-sketch of the *Aeneid*. Aeneas' arrival at Pallanteum and the prospect of assistance is predicted by the Sibyl of Cumae at *A*. 6.96 f. *via prima salutis, / quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe,* and the death of Pallas, which bulks large in *A*. 10 (479–509) and 11 (1-181), is foreshadowed in this book (520 ff., 578 ff.). Virgil clearly had Evander, 'The Benefactor', in mind at an early stage of composition as occupant of the site of Rome. Legend had placed him there at least by the third century B.C. (Fabius Pictor, frg. 5b, Peter *HRF*); by Augustan times the Arcadian foundation was an important rival to the story of Romulus (it may possibly preserve the dimmest memory of Greek Bronze Age migrations to Italy). Evander was available to act as mediator between Aeneas and the Etruscan forces, and to offer his only son to Aeneas' tutelage.

The simple relationship Pallanteum—Evander and Pallas—the Etruscans was the nucleus for the first stage in selecting material for the book. The next stage had two problems to solve: how to bring Aeneas from the Tiber-mouth to the site of Rome, and how to despatch him from there to the Etruscan host. Dry annalistic reporting could not have made much of either, and the challenge to Virgil's imagination and grasp of epic technique was one of the most demanding in the whole poem. Two Odyssean situations suggested themselves as germ-ideas for the expansion of the journey to Pal-

lanteum, and (more surprisingly, for there was no necessary or natural connection with the main narrative) the themes of two Iliadic passages, much longer and better-known, for incorporation after the arrival at Pallanteum.

Odysseus, having swum after shipwreck to a river-mouth on Phaeacia (?Corfu) (*Od.* 5.441 ff.), prayed to the river-god, who checked his current and allowed him to land safely: on this slender basis (helped perhaps by a legend that Aeneas was warned by a god of his country and by the example of river-gods actually speaking in Homer and Hellenistic poetry), Virgil devised the splendid vision of the Tiber-god, 'the ruler of the rivers of Italy', to confirm that Aeneas had at last reached the promised land. Aeneas glides up the stilled river and reaches a party engaged on sacrifice and feasting on the river-bank—just as Telemachus had arrived by boat when Nestor and his people were similarly engaged on the sea-shore (*Od.* 3.1 ff.). Nestor was (appropriately) sacrificing to Poseidon:[1] Virgil's recasting of this suggests that he already had in mind the epic possibilities, to be exploited more fully later, of the oldest and most venerable relics of the very centre of the ancient city and the customs associated with them. A natural place for Aeneas to land would be in the neighbourhood of the *forum boarium*, the cattle-market, where river-transport from the interior had moored in the oldest times: nearby was a group of religious buildings, but one pre-eminently was suitable for the scene of sacrifice by the Greek Evander and his Arcadian settlers—the Ara Maxima with its cult of Hercules *more Graeco*. The sacrifice is in progress when the Trojans arrive and after diplomatic exchanges, recognition, and renewal of friendship, they are invited to participate. Virgil describes the sacrifice in Homeric detail: it is the longest account of any religious ceremony in the *Aeneid*, and for some of its peculiarities Virgil is our sole source. But Hellenistic-Roman interest centred as much on the origin of religious customs as on their ritual, and in one of his most skilful compositions, Virgil dramatised the myth which had grown out of the associations of monumental relics near the Ara Maxima, and created the story of Cacus the fire-breathing monster whose inhuman atrocities were ended by the arrival of the superman Hercules. The story is told by Evander in the interval between the morning and evening sacrifice, and becomes a narrative

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[1] For details of the extensive debt of the first half of *Aeneid* VIII to *Odyssey* 3 see the note on 97 ff.

inset, a 'little epic' in form, in the middle of the description of ritual which ends with a hymn composed very much in the Greek style. Evander next conducts Aeneas back to his humble dwelling on the Palatine, discoursing first on the prehistory of Italy and then on the antiquities which they pass. Evander's excursus on prehistory is a synthesis of ideas from Hesiod, Lucretius and folk-myth, some of which Virgil had already worked out in other contexts; but by transferring the topics of antiquarian research to epic, Virgil promoted the commonplace of Augustan poetry which dwelt on the primitive features of Rome (many of which were saved from extinction by Augustus' conservative policies), and the contrast between the virtuous insignificance of the past and the degenerate grandeur of the present.

Night falls and the real business of the skeleton narrative must be deferred to the following day, when Evander discloses the source of help for Aeneas. The long account of how this comes to be available is indispensable: Virgil had to establish his own novel legend of the Etruscans rising in revolt against their king Mezentius and seeking a foreign leader in their crusade against him. But for no necessary reason, probably from sheer emulation of the most celebrated and elaborate descriptive inset in Homer, Virgil had also decided that Aeneas should have a decorated shield, which must of course be delivered to him before the serious Iliadic fighting. Achilles' mother Thetis had asked Hephaestus to make her son a shield after he had lost his armour (*Il.* 18.457 ff.); with no such motivation Venus asks Vulcan to make her son one as well. But Thetis was a minor marine deity with no special relationship to Hephaestus; Venus on the contrary was a major Olympian goddess, a chief protagonist in the story, and the wife of Vulcan. The new relationship required more than a perfunctory request, and the appropriate time for divine colloquy was the night, when the human action of epic—except in very unusual circumstances—was suspended. The meeting between Venus and Vulcan owes its erotic overtones to that between Hera and Zeus (in *Il.* 14.153 ff.), but Venus' set speech, a rigorously persuasive *suasoria*, is a faithful echo of the Roman schools of rhetoric. Vulcan is won over and departs, not to make the shield himself, like Hephaestus, but to supervise his servants the Cyclopes at work in their smithy under the Vulcanian islands: here Virgil adapts an idea from Hellenistic poetry and elaborates it (rather mechanically in 426 ff.). When the shield is made and delivered by Venus, after

ominous thunder and lightning, the pictures on it, *res Italas Romanorumque triumphos*—Roman victories over moments of peril and crisis, contrast with the quiet idyllic themes of the earlier part of the book in exactly the reverse manner to that in which the peaceful activities on Achilles' shield contrast with the scenes of fighting which surround it in the *Iliad*; the pictures, the narrative of the whole book, and, in its contemporary relevance, of the whole *Aeneid*, culminate in a centrepiece representing the battle of Actium and Augustus' victorious return to Rome. Virgil had already introduced contemporary references into the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, but to incorporate such themes into *epic* poetry, as here and at *A*. 6.789 ff. and 875 ff., was a very bold innovation.

This, in brief, seems to be how Virgil evolved material to fit in with the basic design of his first stage of composition. We do not know in what order or at what intervals of time the various sections of the book were written; some of them, the Cacus-narration, the Shield, Evander's excursus on Italian prehistory and the archaeology of the site of Rome, can in some respects be regarded as self-contained episodes.

AENEID VIII: STRUCTURE AND COHERENCE

The apparent lack of any overriding theme and of any unity of composition in the final form of the book has proved a headache to interpreters. It stands in the sharpest contrast to *Aeneid* VII whose material is arranged according to a very clear design: in the first main section of the book the Trojans and Latinus alternate as the subjects of attention until peace is concluded between them (*A*. 7.285); Juno, the symbol of *furor*, immediately intervenes, and in the second section her instrument Allecto makes three attempts to disrupt the peace: they are all successful, and their practical results follow in reverse order to culminate in the third section of the book, the mobilisation of Italy and the Catalogue of the Italian Allies.[1] *Aeneid* VIII on the other hand is episodic; it is sometimes possible (as at 268 ff.) to see where one section has been stitched to another; the subject-matter of the episodes is quite different and does not sustain any one clearly directed theme like the episodes of Aeneas' wander-

[1] An excellent detailed analysis is given by Eduard Fraenkel, 'Some Aspects of the Structure of Aeneid VII', *JRS* 35 (1945), 1–14.

ings in *Aeneid* III. In short, no clear structural scheme, comparable with that of *Aeneid* III or VII, can be found in the more ambitious *Aeneid* VIII. But this is not to say that in the extraordinary variety of material in the book there is no coherence, no progress in the narrative, no dominant themes which reflect each other. All these are present, and more too.

Two vital sequences of ideas, mutually indispensable and interwoven, give momentum to a narrative which begins with its hero in a state of solitary despair, friendless and futureless, and ends with the prospect of countless thousands to command, and a vision of world-empire. The crucial point where these two sequences coincide (520–40) has all the force of a dramatic *περιπέτεια*, 'a reversal of fortune'.

Aeneas in despair (19, 29, 35)	
|	
Tiberinus points to Evander as the source of help (51 ff.)	Venus persuades Vulcan to make invincible arms for Aeneas (400 ff.)
|	|
Evander in turn points to the Etruscans (470–519)	Venus sends her sign: arms are seen to flash in the sky (520 ff.)
|	| [1]
Aeneas joins the Etruscans (606 f.)	Venus brings the divine armour (612 ff.), which depicts the future greatness of Rome

Evander's long speech (470–519) promised Etruscan support, but it had filled Aeneas with gloom: could he really win over a nation in revolt, and could he face the effort? ...the issue in any case would still be doubtful. Immediately afterwards Venus sends her sign, and Aeneas comes to the triumphant realisation of heaven's blessing, and a change of heart comparable only with that of Anchises in *A*. 2.701 ff.: *iam iam nulla mora est: sequor et qua ducitis adsum, / di patrii*. In other circumstances the sign might have been ominous of disaster, portending the bloodshed and desolation of war, but Aeneas, now in fully awakened consciousnesss of his mission, and psychologically

[1] Cf. R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 449.

ready to accept it, *himself* interprets the sign as the most favourable possible. Hence his exultant cry (533) *ego poscor Olympo*:[1] he and no one else really is the hero *quem numina poscunt*, the foreign leader chosen by fate, the true object of the theme which develops out of *Aeneid* VII and drums insistently through *Aeneid* VIII (12, 477, 503, 511 ff.).[2] The reversal of fortune is not, as it might have been, a tragic change for the worse, but a serious joyful and self-confident change for the better.

But long before Aeneas can avow his change of heart to himself, there must be some catalyst to transform his outlook; without this the heavenly sign could have no effect: this is, in fact, the symbol of that change, even if the art of story-telling presents it as the cause, just as the love-potion drunk by Tristan and Isolde is a striking dramatic externalisation of their final awareness of the love which has slowly and unconsciously grown between them. The ground for this change is prepared above all by Aeneas' unsuspecting introduction, with his emotions stirred by a hallowed religious ceremony, to the Arcadian bucolic atmosphere of the Arcadian site of Rome. Nestor's discursive reminiscences of the Trojan War and the homecoming of the heroes (*Od.* 3.102 ff.) gave Evander precedent to reminisce himself. But the Hercules-Cacus episode and the excursus on the archaeology of the site of Rome appear at first sight to be entirely detachable from the main narrative traced above; in fact, the depth and reflection they give to it are indispensable.

A comparison with the versions of Livy (1.7.5–15) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.39) clearly shows that Virgil chose his material for the Hercules-Cacus episode specifically to enhance the monstrosity of Cacus, and hence the achievement of Hercules the deliverer, the worthy object of deification. There are two other monsters in the book, one of primitive bestiality, Mezentius, the other, in official eyes, a tainted immoralist and instigator of civil war, Mark Antony. Aeneas accepts the commission to defeat the first, Augustus triumphs over the second: both rank as divine saviours and benefactors of mankind. This major theme organises the structure of the book in three layers or panels: it is clearly exampled in the mythical past with Hercules, projected on to the narrative present with Aeneas, and on to

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[1] The significance of this short phrase has unfortunately been obscured by the perverse punctuation of editors like Hirtzel; see the note on 533.

[2] Emphasised by Franz Bömer, 'Studien zum VIII. Buche der Aeneis', *RhM* 92 (1944), 319–69.

the historical present with Augustus.[1] And it is this theme which binds together sections which have no formal similarity to each other in length or literary genre, and which appear most to disrupt the unity of the book if considered purely from the point of view of their literary antecedents: 'little epic' (the Cacus-narration), narrative sketch (the site of Rome), and descriptive inset (the Shield). There are other symbolic links of the same kind, but not so pervasive: Saturn, Evander and Aeneas, all foreign immigrants, are the past, present and future colonisers and civilisers of Latium (a link fully discussed by Binder 84–9); and Evander and Augustus reflect on each other through their humble quarters on the Palatine, and the institution and preservation of the priestly colleges of the Salii and Luperci.

Aeneas is made to feel at home on the site of Rome, but this is only half of his introduction to *res Romanae* in the book; after his change of heart he takes on himself the future destiny of the city and its glorious heroes and history shown on his Shield. The link between the *encomium urbis antiquae* and the *laudes virorum* is as close and significant here, although they are separated by quite different material, as it is in the famous praise of Italy in *G.* 2.136 ff. where the panegyric of the land is followed immediately by supreme examples of the *genus acre virum.*[2] In other words, the Site of Rome and the Shield complement each other materially: 'by showing us first of all the

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[1] The importance of the Hercules-Augustus equation was first suggested by Hermann Fränkel, *Miscellanea G. Galbiati = Fontes Ambrosiani XXV*, vol. I (1951), 127 f., later developed by Hermann Schnepf, 'Das Herculesabenteuer in Virgils Aeneis', *Gymnasium* 66 (1959), 250 ff., and amplified by Brooks Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (1963), 330 ff. Vinzenz Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (Heidelberg, 1963), 116 ff., concentrates attention on the Hercules-Cacus episode not as the key to internal coherence within *Aeneid* VIII, but to the whole book's connection with the rest of the *Aeneid*: the clearly intended parallelism between Hercules and Aeneas is convincingly demonstrated, but the Cacus-Turnus equation involves considerable difficulties. That Cacus and Mezentius are so characterised as to reflect on each other, and that this reflection supports the structural coherence of *Aeneid* VIII, seems to me demonstrably true. That images and phrases used in connection with Cacus hint unambiguously at the character of Turnus, and that *this* cross-reference integrates this book with the rest of the second half of the *Aeneid*, seems much less solidly based, although this view is gaining acceptance (see F. J. Worstbrock, *Elemente einer Poetik der Aeneis. Untersuchungen zum Gattungsstil Vergilianischer Epik* (Münster Westf., 1963), 103 ff., and G. Karl Galinsky, *AJPh* 87 (1966), 18–51, esp. 35 ff.).

[2] See the most brilliant overall appreciation of *Aeneid* VIII to date, the essay by Friedrich Klingner in *Virgil: Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis* (Zürich, 1967), 527 ff.

empty theatre Virgil gives us an inkling that great things are to happen there later, and has filled us with an expectation which is only waiting to be transformed into admiration: at the sight of the shield this admiration comes to flower'.[1] And it is in these two sections that particular stress is placed on Aeneas' similar reactions: joyful wonder as he drinks in the scenery of Rome (310 f.), fascinated wonder as he sees the divine armour (617 ff.).[2]

Finally, throughout the book the listener's interest is continually engaged by the ebb and flow of feelings which cannot be reduced to a simple schema, but which none the less secure unity and coherence: mood, emotional intensity, and the light and shade of the colour-painting.

The mood of the hero is never the same for long. The gloom and despondency which envelop him when he falls asleep on the river-bank are lifted by the marvellous apparition of the river-god and his paternal reassurance. The joy which Aeneas feels at Evander's friendly welcome and the ceremony which confirms it gives way to relaxed surrender to the pastoral charm of the site of the settlement. The doubt and bafflement at the unexpected hazard of joining the Etruscans is banished by a surge of triumphant self-confidence through Venus' sign, and finally succeeded by astonished half-awareness of the significance of the Shield.

The range of emotional intensity is no less varied: the flat, prosaic résumé of the opening paragraph and the stilted diplomacy of Aeneas' credentials soar to Vulcan's incoherent exhaustion and—the real emotional climax of the book in human terms—Evander's passionate farewell to his son.

Light and brightness of colour pervade the book from the tranquillity of the Tiber valley to the triumph of Actium, and win their alternating battle with the sombreness evident in Turnus' preparations for war, the monstrous atrocities of Cacus and Mezentius, and the premonition of Pallas' fate.[3] All but one of the similes in the book contribute light and colour, and artfully offset moods of depression in the narrative: Aeneas' thoughts may be gloomy, but they are restless too like shimmering light; Pallas may be doomed, but he sets off in the pure beauty of the Morning Star.

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[1] A. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide* (Paris, 1926), 634.

[2] See J. R. Bacon, 'Aeneas in Wonderland: A Study of Aeneid VIII', *CR* 53 (1939), 97–104.

[3] See Viktor Pöschl, *The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid*, (Michigan, 1962), 169 ff., some of whose observations, however, will not stand up to pragmatic tests.

The deeper one looks into *Aeneid* VIII the more one sees. Enough has perhaps been said not only to vindicate it against any superficial charge of disunity, but to encourage the reader to look for himself and penetrate multiple layers of meaning, the surest criterion of a great work of literature.

COMMENTARY

1-17 *Turnus gives the signals for war, and the whole of Latium swears allegiance to him inspired by the same uncontrollable frenzy. Allied chieftains raise levies and an envoy is sent to the Greek Diomedes to win his support against the Trojan newcomers.*

1-17 This opening paragraph is at once a summary, a transition, and a setting. Book VII ended with the Catalogue of Latin Allies (641-end), a lengthy interruption of the narrative; the last part of the narration proper (601-40) had described what Augustan poetry represented as the time-honoured procedure for a formal declaration of war, the opening of the gates of the temple (actually a double archway) of Janus by the consul: *ipse Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino / insignis reserat stridentia limina consul, / ipse vocat pugnas; sequitur tum cetera pubes, / aereaque adsensu conspirant cornua rauco* (612-5). Latinus himself had refused to perform this regular office. War therefore was declared in the panic-stricken atmosphere of an emergency: the gates had been pushed open by Juno and immediately there was feverish mobilisation and armament, cf. esp. *signaque ferre iuvat sonitusque audire tubarum* (628); *classica iamque sonant, it bello tessera signum* (637). The opening lines of *A*. 8 (1-6) draw together these threads from the preceding narrative, adding Turnus' own summons to repel the invaders—hasty and unceremonious in accordance with his character. Three of the heroes already characterised in the Catalogue of Latin Allies raise levies (6-8)—a grim trio: Mezentius, arrogant and cruel (*A*. 7.647 ff.), Messapus, descendant of Neptune and supernaturally protected (*A*. 7.691 ff.), and Ufens, victorious chieftain of brigands (*A*. 7.744 ff.). Finally (9-17)—a new addition to the narrative—an ambassador Venulus is sent to try by a subtly persuasive speech to enlist the aid of Aeneas' old enemy Diomedes now settled in Apulia: note that *A*. 8.12 echoes *A*. 7.272 f. where Latinus says *hunc illum poscere fata / . . . reor.*

The first two sections of this opening paragraph (1-6, 6-8) are resumptive, and the last (9-17) gives in formal terms the substance of a diplomatic dispatch (cf. *A*. 10.149 ff., Aeneas' audience with Tarcho—a similar situation with very similar phraseology): the style is inevitably unimpassioned and almost prosaic. But it is an indispensable part of the narrative: the reader needs to be impressed at the beginning of the book that war is everywhere being prepared (giving Aeneas full cause for sleepless anxiety, 18 ff.), and to see the contrast with the tranquil and unwarlike themes of the rest of the book.

1-6 Narrative *accelerando* and dramatic tension in this opening sentence are achieved by a skilful fitting of balanced words and clauses on to the hexameter framework. The three parallel clauses of decreasing length introduced by *ut* speed the account of Turnus' actions to an almost telegrammatic expression of their results: words required by a full prose expression (*sunt* with *turbati* and *et* before *simul*) are omitted, the balancing

word-order in *omne tumultu coniurat trepido Latium* (adj. 1, noun 2, verb, adj. 2, noun 1) spans two hexameters with no breath-pause, and the whole sentence ends with a heavy stop after a first dactylic foot (*effera*), a favourite means of conveying energetic haste (*extulit* (2) followed by a lighter pause has a less forceful effect of the same kind).

On stopped first foot dactyls see R. D. Williams on *A*. 5.480.

The opening sentence is exceptional (and the sentence in 9-17 even more so) in exceeding the four-hexameter unit which Virgil regarded as the normally desirable maximum. As pointed out above, the first sentence is a résumé of a *series* of events; the other, 9-17, recalls by its structure the long periods of historical narrative in prose (such a long sequence of *Oratio Obliqua* is rare in Virgil)—and the tone of it too is unpoetic and in keeping.

1 Turnus, Aeneas' principal antagonist, makes his appearance in the first line, although his name is not the seal of the whole book as it is of *A*. 12 (cf. *regina A*. 4.1). Latinus had refused to make a formal declaration of war and Turnus himself takes measures designed to meet an emergency situation. Virgil is evidently thinking of a custom of Republican Rome. Servius (*ad loc.*) tells us that in the case of a *tumultus* (as here, cf. 4), a sudden uprising in Italy or Cisalpine Gaul (so defined by Cic. *Phil.* 8.3), there was no time to administer individually the military oath (*sacramentum*), so the man who was going to command the army went to the Capitol (cf. *ab arce* 1) and raised one or possibly two *vexilla*, uttering the formula *qui rempublicam salvam esse vult, me sequatur.* The oath was then taken together (*coniuratio* cf. *coniurat* 5) by all those of military age, i.e. those who were technically *iuvenes* and constituted the *iuventus* (5). Messengers were also despatched to various places in the neighbourhood to raise levies (*evocatio*), a task which is here performed by the three chieftains Messapus, Ufens and Mezentius. See further Th. Mommsen, *Römische Forschungen* II, 245 note 27.

1 **Laurenti**: noun or adjective? Only this form of the word is ambiguous: in all its other forms *Laurent-* in Virgil is invariably an adjective. At *A*. 8.38, *solo Laurenti*, it is most naturally taken as an adjective because of the balancing *arvisque Latinis*, and because of *solo Laurente* at *A*. 12.547; the only other occurrence is *A*. 12.769 *Laurenti divo*, where, as here, there is no good ground for not taking it as an adjective. Virgil lends no support to the view that there ever was a *primitive* town called *Laurentum*, and there is no clear evidence for its existence either in inscriptions (see Dessau, *CIL* 14, pp. 186 ff.) or in literary sources (see Carcopino 198 ff.). It is now generally believed that the capital of the *ager Laurens* and the *populus Laurens* was Lavinium, the modern Prática di Mare, about 16 miles south-east of Ostia and three miles back from the coast (evidence for the identification is summarised in Saunders 55 f.). The phraseology of Tibullus 2.5.49 points to the same conclusion: *ante oculos Laurens castrum murusque Lavini est*, 'a camp in Laurentine territory and (there also) the wall of Lavinium'. But it is by no means certain that Virgil identified Lavinium with the city of Latinus; *A*. 12.193 f., on the contrary, imply that it was a

later Trojan foundation, and a plausible case for believing that Virgil located Latinus' city near the marshy sea-coast by the mouth of the Numicus (Rio Torto or, more probably, Fosso di Prática) is made by Tilly 83 ff.

2 The alliteration of *c* and *r* here and in the similar *A.* 7.615 may derive from Lucretius 2.619...*raucisonoque minantur cornua cantu.* Onomatopoeia, the adaptation of sound to sense, is native to early Latin poetry; Ennius and Lucretius achieve obvious and unmistakable effects with it. In Virgil, although sibilant snakes (*A.* 2.209 ff.) and spuming seas (*A.* 6.174) invite the obvious treatment, sound-patterns are more subtle; where they exist, one should be cautious in estimating the intended 'effect'—some Roman poets would be astonished at the discoveries of their hypersensitive modern critics. In particular, one should bear in mind that the same sound may appropriately be associated with contexts of different feeling and content, and that sound-patterns are often not strictly onomatopoeic—they may *accompany* the sense without reinforcing it. To take the example of *v* alone: it reinforces the feeling of violence at 259 *vana vomentem* and perhaps at 644 f.; it supports the oracular tone of 500 *flos veterum virtusque virum* because alliteration in general recalls early poetry; but it is purely ornamental at 155 f., 356 *veterumque vides monimenta virorum,* and 576 *si visurus eum vivo et venturus in unum.*

The consensus of MSS supports *strepuerunt*; *P* alone, before correction, has *sonuerunt,* a recollection of *A.* 7.637 *classica iamque sonant* or the like.

3 **utque acris concussit equos utque impulit arma**: a startlingly novel expression (too novel for Ribbeck, who wished to remove it from the text). The situation seems to require that Turnus drove forward the horses of his chariot and shook his weapons.

In poetic language the usual phrase for a charioteer 'driving forward' his yoked horses is *impellere equos* (Statius *Th.* 7.83 and cf. *Th.* 12.733 f.; the same phrase with *planta* or *calce* for a rider 'spurring on' his single horse at Silius 2.71 f., 7.696 f.); 'to clash' or 'shake one's weapons' is *concutere arma* (Ovid *Met.* 1.142 f., 7.130, 12.468; Seneca *Troades* 683). Virgil nowhere uses either of these obvious and natural expressions (although following the archaic preference for simple to compound verbs he uses *quatere* (*arma*) at *A.* 10.762 and 12.442). Here, on the contrary, he seems to have *interchanged* the position of the two verbs. The resultant phrases, typical of many which make Virgil so difficult to translate, cannot mean what they appear to say: Turnus does not now hurl any of his weapons forward, as he does later (*A.* 9.52) actually to begin an attack, nor does he 'clash his horses together'!

The phrases in the meaning they have here show Virgil's general tendency to avoid the commonplace (metrical considerations may also have played some small part), and can bear this meaning because they are extensions of normal, literal expressions: *concutere frena* or *lora* (*A.* 5.146 f., 6.100 f.) is inverted to *concutere equos* (*frenis*) (and cf. *equos... quatit, A.* 12.337 f.). Through exploiting the fringe area of the meaning of the words there is a gain in expressiveness and emotive violence hardly conveyed by 'he whipped up his horses and brandished his weapons'.

Turnus is filled with the spirit of war; in *A.* 12.331 ff. he is explicitly compared in a simile with Mavors, god of war. In the proem to *Argonautica* 6, which has enough similarities of phrasing and structure with the opening paragraph of *A.* 8 to suggest that Valerius Flaccus may have had the latter in his mind when writing, Gradivus (Mars) is thus described (6 f.): *impulit hinc currus, monstrum irrevocabile belli* (= *hastam*) / *concutiens.* His actions and those of Turnus here are the same, but the language is different: the lesser poet has used the expected phraseology.

Lucan's phrase (7.16) *et quaecumque fugax Sertorius impulit arma* (= *armatos concitavit*) may rest on an individual interpretation of this line of Virgil.

F. Bömer, *Hermes* 93 (1965), 130 f. compares the bold *metathesis verborum* here—a figure quite outside the recognised categories of rhetoric—with *A.* 6.847 f. *excudent alii spirantia mollius aera* / (*credo equidem*), *vivos ducent de marmore vultus,* where the usual expressions would be *ducent aera* and *excudent de marmore vultus.* This 'interchange' is less surprising. (The label *metathesis* must not be taken to imply a purely mechanical decision; it describes the *result* of an interplay of words hardly to be analysed.)

This was also no doubt one of the aspects of the *nova cacozelia* which was levelled against Virgil as a criticism. Donatus *Vita* 44: *M. Vipsanius a Maecenate eum suppositum appellabat novae cacozeliae repertorem, non tumidae nec exilis, sed ex communibus verbis, atque ideo latentis,* 'M. Vipsanius used to call him the inventor, foisted on them by Maecenas, of a new form of perverse originality, neither bombastic nor jejune, but based on everyday words and for that reason escaping notice'. (Editors unanimously print *Vipsanius,* for the otherwise unattested name Vipranius of the MSS, identifying the critic with M. Vipsanius Agrippa, in which case this is the only attributable piece of contemporary criticism of Virgil which has come down to us. But it is strange (in spite of F. Marx, *RhM* 74 (1925), 185) that Agrippa should be referred to only by his gentile name, especially as he himself had suppressed it *quasi argumentum paternae humilitatis* (Seneca *Contr.* 2.4.13); it is even more surprising that Augustus' bluff generalissimo should have expressed himself in technical terms of criticism worthy of Quintilian, and with a penetration greater than his. If Agrippa did actually make the remark he most probably got it from Quintus Caecilius Epirota, the first man actually to lecture on Virgil. Caecilius was the freedman of Atticus and tutor to Atticus' daughter, Agrippa's wife. A more than academic interest in his pupil led to his expulsion from Agrippa's house—but not perhaps without leaving a dictum well worth remembering: see Suetonius *De Grammaticis* 16.)

The chief ways in which Virgil gives his everyday words an unfamiliar shade of meaning are:

(1) by *varying* the normal prose idiom: examples abound (see the Index *s.v.*), from simple changes affecting one word only (see the note on 56 *foedera iunge*), to an interchange in the position and construction of two words as at, for example, *A.* 1.660 *ossibus implicet ignem* ('entwine fire

in her bones' for *ossa igne implicet*, 'entwine her bones with fire'), *A*. 10.268 f. *donec versas ad litora puppis / respiciunt totumque adlabi classibus aequor* ('the whole ship-dotted sea was gliding towards them', for *toto adlabi classes aequore*, 'ships were gliding towards them over the whole sea'). This tendency sometimes leads to extreme cases of hypallage (see the note on 542);

(2) by giving a word a sense no longer current (see the note on 84 f. *enim*), or current only as a technical term (of religion: see the notes on 85 *mactat*, and cf. 106 *tura dabant*);

(3) by giving a word a sense it could etymologically have had but did not (see the notes on 260 f. *angit* and 263 *abiuratae*). For Virgil's interest in the etymology of proper names, see the note on 425.

Some instances of Greek-imitated constructions are 'new' (cf. the note on 127), but the general tendency is of course not. Some of the ways in which Virgil exploits the ablative—making it serve as an adjective, or attach itself to more than one part of the surrounding context (see the Index *s.v. ablative*)—may count as an individual innovation.

On the whole topic see also L. P. Wilkinson, *CQ* 53 (1959), 181-92.

3 **equos**: the horses of Turnus' chariot, for they and the arms belong to him alone, in spite of both Servius and Henry, whose opposite view is due to a misunderstanding of both situation and language. The violence of the expression of l. 3 (discussed above) eminently suits Turnus: (1) *violentia* is Virgil's key-word for his character and used exclusively of him (although the adjective *violentus* is used also of the uncontrollable forces of the winds and waves): in Drances' taunting speech (*A*. 11.354) *violentia* points to Turnus as clearly as if he had been named. (2) He is still the victim of the Fury Allecto sent by Juno to incite him against her old enemy Aeneas, and still in the same state: *A*. 7.461 f. *saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli, / ira super.*

Turnus has the limited tribal ideals of a Homeric hero: his preoccupation with his own fulfilment and his own honour assigns him clearly to the company of Achilles and Hector. The inadequacy of his standards and attitudes in the face of the new order of things represented by Aeneas leads to his downfall. His tragic dilemma evokes sympathy, but not admiration: for Virgil and his Roman readers his character was almost a compendium of social sins, *audacia, superbia* and *furor*, not to mention *violentia* and *insania*.

3 **utque impulit arma**: Servius, puzzled to know the meaning of the phrase here, and thinking (wrongly) that *extemplo* in the next line might be read *ex templo*, comments: *est autem sacrorum: nam is qui belli susceperat curam, sacrarium Martis ingressus primo ancilia commovebat, post hastam simulacri ipsius, dicens 'Mars vigila'*. Henry dismisses this with characteristic impatience and, for once, justifiably; we are not intended to 'conceive Turnus to have gone into the *sacrarium* and actually given a push with his hand to certain *ancilia* there'. But the information Servius gives, although quite irrelevant here, is correct and valuable in understanding early religious thought: before statues of gods came into

existence, the spear itself *was* the god of war and his spirit was immanent in it (see H. J. Rose, *ARR* 21); hence shaking it and the *ancilia* was an appropriate preliminary to beginning hostilities (Servius on *A*. 7.603).

4 **extemplo**, 'immediately', derives from the language of augury: *ex templo* meaning 'immediately on leaving the *templum*', the area demarcated on the ground or in the sky by the augur, within which omens were significant. But the original associations soon faded out and are not to be read into the word here.

4 The phrase *extemplo turbati animi* at *A*. 11.451 introduces a similarly terse description of excited mobilisation (in Latinus' city at Aeneas' sudden advance).

4 **simul** here as often in Virgil (e.g. *A*. 8.80) is an adverb; the connecting particle *et* is omitted and the asyndeton helps to give an impression of speed: cf., for example, *A*. 2.755 *horror ubique animo, simul ipsa silentia terrent.*

5 **trepido**: the adjective is very rare in prose before the Augustan period (but Cicero has the noun *trepidatio* (*Deiot.* 20), in close connection, as here, with *tumultus*). It means 'agitated', usually with fear (perhaps etymologically connected with *tremo* and *terreo*), but not always; here, and clearly at *A*. 9.233, it = 'excited'.

6 **ductores** (cf. 496) has a grand heroic ring about it compared with the prosaic *duces*; it does not occur in the *Eclogues*, and only once in the *Georgics* (4.88), in the mock-heroic battle of the 'king' bees: *verum ubi ductores acie revocaveris ambo.* The word is rare before Virgil. *ductores Danaum* as verse-beginning at both Lucretius 1.86 and *A*. 2.14 suggests an origin in Ennius, who probably used it not simply as a dignified equivalent of *dux* (which for him seems to have meant 'pathfinder', cf. *Ann.* 441 V), but as a metrically usable equivalent of *īmpĕrātor* (*induperator*—too pseudo-archaic for Virgil—was another way out of the difficulty). See Leumann 147, n. 1.

6 **primi**: out of the notion of 'first', 'at the front' of a series in space (cf. 281 *sacerdotes primusque Potitius*, 'the priests and Potitius at their head') developed that of 'first' in precedence or rank, as here and at 105 *iuvenum primi*; the transition is clear at 586 f. *Aeneas inter primos et fidus Achates, / inde alii Troiae proceres.* For other meanings of *primus* see the Index *s.v.*

6 Servius *ad loc.*: *Messapus et Ufens: bona electio personarum ad dilectum habendum: unus eques bonus, id est Messapus, mittitur, alter pedes egregius*—a reasonable deduction from *A*. 7.691 *at Messapus, equum domitor, Neptunia proles* (Neptunus = Ποσειδῶν ἵππιος, cf. *G*. 1.12 ff.) and *A*. 7.745 ff. where Ufens is said to belong to the *gens...duris Aequicula glaebis. / armati terram exercent...* Messapus is recast by Virgil as an Etruscan prince; elsewhere he was the eponymous ruler of Messapia (the whole of Southern Italy, including both Apulia and Calabria); Ennius, who was born in ancient Calabria (modern Puglia), claimed descent from Messapus (see Servius on *A*. 7.691 and Silius 12.393).

7 **contemptor . . . deum** (gen. pl.) is almost a 'tag' for Mezentius (cf. *A.* 7.648), who is marked out by it as the destined antagonist (*impius*) for *pius Aeneas.*

Macrobius (3.5.10) explains the title by citing Cato's first book of *Origines*: *ait enim Mezentium Rutulis imperasse, ut sibi offerrent quas dis primitias offerebant, et Latinos omnes similis imperii metu ita vovisse: 'Iuppiter, si tibi magis cordi est nos ea tibi dare potius quam Mezentio, uti nos victores facias'.* Later versions substitute for *primitiae,* the first-fruits of all crops, the whole of the wine produce only (see Ovid *Fasti* 4.879 ff. and Frazer's note there). The demand for this offering, which later generations would regard simply as arrogant blasphemy, may originate in Mezentius' status as a sacred chieftain or king-god: see the note on 485 ff. The political implication of the account—the power of the Etruscans of Caere and their king Mezentius to attempt coercion over a subject Latium—is undoubtedly historical, although Cato's statement implies neither that the Latins did in fact pay tithes to Mezentius (as Alföldi 209 ff.) nor that they did not (as A. Momigliano, *JRS* 57 (1967), 213). (For the spelling *Mezzentius,* which occurs in the *Romanus* here and elsewhere in the *Mediceus,* and which is due to the influence of the grammarian Verrius Flaccus, for whom *z* represented one consonantal sound only, see Roscher, 2.2.2952 f.)

7 f. **undique cogunt / auxilia et latos vastant cultoribus agros**: a composite idea analysed into simpler components. Simplicity of syntax is one of the hall-marks of Virgil's style. He prefers parataxis, a succession of coordinate clauses each with an indicative verb, to hypotaxis, the subordination of some clauses to others. So where in Ciceronian prose we should *normally* find a complex idea expressed in such a way that the grammatical structure reflects the logical or chronological connection between its component parts, Virgil takes apart the various aspects of a complex notion and links them together with coordinate verbs, each reflecting a different side of the same situation. One clause therefore is often a restatement in different terms of the one which preceded: the *dicolon* (or *tricolon*) *abundans* of the Latin grammarians. The 'padded' style of Ciceronian oratory with an accumulation of (near-) synonymous clauses is exactly similar. This feature of Virgil's style has conveniently been labelled 'theme and variation' by Henry (see his note on *A.* 1.546 ff., and on *A.* 8.505 f. where he hails himself as the discoverer of the secret of Virgil's style). Examples of the technique are very numerous; cf., for example, 241 f., 374 f., 505 f. See further the note on 171.

8 **latos...agros**: single-syllable rhyme is fairly common before the strong caesura in the third foot and the end of the line; usually the rhyming words are noun and adjective (cf. also, for example, 118, 682), sometimes two adverbs (149) or participles (649). Earlier poetry shows the same feature: see W. W. Ewbank, *The Poems of Cicero* 68 and Bailey, *Lucretius* vol. 1, 154. Although Roman poets were probably sensitive to the effect produced, it is unlikely that the rhyme was primarily devised for its own sake: it was the natural result of word-symmetry and the structure of the

verse. The same probably holds good for the more frequent internal rhyme of the pentameter in elegy (but see Platnauer 49).

8 *vasto*, 'lay waste', takes an accusative of direct object, and its sense can be further completed by an ablative of instrument (as at 374), or an ablative of separation (as here) showing of what the object is laid waste; this second construction is the usual complement of verbs of depriving, like *viduo* at 571. Statius imitates the line at *Th.* 3.576 f. *agrosque viris annosaque vastant / oppida*, but the phrase and construction are not exclusive to poetry, cf. Aulus Hirtius *B.G.* 8.24.4 *fines eius vastare civibus, aedificiis, pecore.*

9 **mittitur et**: *et* = *etiam* here, at 200 and 630, and probably at 161; notice how often in the surrounding context (2, 8, 12, 14) a normal connective *et* occurs in the same position in the verse.

9 Diomedes, the Greek hero, Aeneas' old opponent in the Trojan War, could expect to be attacked in southern Italy if ever Aeneas gained possession of Latium, and so was an obvious potential ally. In addition he had a close personal link with Turnus, for he had been king of Argos, and Virgil attributes a Greek origin to Turnus (*A.* 7.371 f. *et Turno, si prima domus repetatur origo, / Inachus Acrisiusque* (kings of Argos) *patres mediaeque Mycenae*). According to the post-Homeric legend preserved by Servius, Venus had punished him for the injury inflicted on her (*Il.* 5.334 ff.) by causing his wife to be unfaithful during his absence, and he could not return to Argos because her lover was in possession there. Ultimately he sailed to the Gárgano promontory in southern Italy, founded the city here referred to, Argyrip(p)a or Arpi (*A.* 11.246-50), near the modern Foggia, and was credited with many other foundations in Apulia, Samnium and elsewhere (see Saunders 34 ff.).

The embassy was in fact unsuccessful (cf. *A.* 11.225-95), Diomedes being unwilling to fight the unconquerable Aeneas again. At the great debate in the Council of Gods Venus represents him as actively hostile to the Trojans (*A.* 10.28 f. *atque iterum in Teucros Aetolis surgit ab Arpis / Tydides*), but this is a rhetorical lie (see the note on 41 *concessere*).

Venulus, as emerges from *A.* 11.742 and 757, was a Tiburtine and an appropriate ambassador to Diomedes, as Tibur too was credited with Argive foundation. He appears at *A.* 11.242 to report the unsuccessful results of his mission, and at *A.* 11.741 ff. is swooped upon by Tarcho and disappears from the narrative.

10 ff. The messenger's speech is designed to play on Diomedes' feelings: the Trojans are *already* established in Latium (Servius *ad loc.*: *consistere, iam esse conditos, id est fundasse civitatem*); Aeneas is importing the household gods of Troy which Diomedes had helped to conquer (*victosque penates* is no doubt a taunt emanating from Turnus, Juno's instrument, and recalls her words to Aeolus at *A.* 1.68); he is claiming to be the fated king of Latium (according to the oracle of Faunus, *A.* 7.254 ff.); many tribes are joining him (this assertion is made plausible by describing him as *vir Dardanius*, implying that as Dardanus had come from Italy (cf. *A.* 7.240) Aeneas could claim kinship with some of the Italian tribes); finally,

Diomedes is in the best position to guess what Aeneas is plotting (because he knew him of old and might surmise that if Aeneas won Latium he would proceed to take vengeance on Diomedes, not least for violating his father Anchises' tomb (a legend known to Varro, cited by Servius on *A*. 4.427)).

The whole speech is a disguised *suasoria* in which exaggeration and misrepresentation are regular and intentional features: 13 f. are not literally true, but this is no ground to suppose that Virgil is temporarily nodding (as Wagner, *QV* 40, *Virgilius dormitans*), or that the lines are interpolated (as Peerlkamp).

10 f. **Latio consistere Teucros...victosque penatis / inferre** represent as already accomplished the objects of Aeneas' mission stated (in the usual terms of colonisation) at *A*. 1.5 f. *dum conderet urbem / inferretque deos Latio.*

10 **victos**: to represent the enemy one is about to meet as already conquered is a commonplace of eve-of-battle harangues, cf. Caesar *B.C.* 2.5.2; and Livy 21.40.5 ff. and 21.41.10 ff.

10 **consistere**: the right word for the 'settling' of aliens (as the Trojans were), cf. Caesar *B.G.* 7.3.1 *cives Romanos qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant. considere can* also be used of permanent settlement, as at Val. Fl. 5.234; it is a variant here, most probably deriving from *A*. 6.67.

11 **classi**: ablative; a small group of masculine and feminine nouns with *-i* stems, although *usually* having an ablative singular in the regular *-e*, sometimes keep the older alternative in *-i* in the classical language (*amni* 473, *igni* e.g. *A*. 6.742).

13 **s(e) adiungere**: for the rather harsh elision of the monosyllable see the note on 503 *tum.*

15 **struat**: a word with rather sinister undertones for Virgil, cf. *A*. 2.60 (Sinon) *hoc ipsum ut strueret Troiamque aperiret Achivis*, and Austin's note. The sense of 'plotting' is common in prose, e.g. Cicero *De Orat.* 2.208 *odium in alios*; Tacitus *Ann.* 4.10 *mortem.*

15 **his coeptis**: 'sequential rhyme' already in Homer, e.g. *Od.* 1.83 ὅνδε δόμονδε. Ancient critics including Servius were much concerned with the propriety of rhyming endings in two consecutive words (homoeoteleuton): it is of course pronounced where both bear the ictus (as here, 51 *his oris*, 100 *res inopes*, 261 *elisos oculos*, 389 *solitam flammam*, 715 *dis Italis*). This feature is far less common in Virgil than in Ennius and Lucretius, but there is no evidence that he avoided it *per se* and used it only for descriptive effect (*pace* Norden 405 ff.). On *A*. 8.545 Servius *auctus* says *Euandrus pro Euander, sed vitavit* ὁμοιοτέλευτον *sequentis verbi* (sc. *pariter*): but as *Euandrus* is the form always used (five times) in *A*. 8, whereas *Euander* occurs only once at *A*. 10.515, his argument has little weight. Norden (407) maintains that the hypallage at *A*. 8.526 *Tyrrhenusque tubae...clangor* is due to deliberate avoidance of sequential rhyme; it is more likely to be primarily caused by word-symmetry, and as this is far more frequent in Virgil than in Ennius and Lucretius, the absence of homoeoteleuton which is its natural consequence is also far greater in him than them.

Occasionally the rhyme is emphasised by *-que...-que* (94 *noctemque diemque*; cf. 431, 490), or linked by a single *-que* or *-ve* (*os oculosque* 152; cf. 38, 402, 663, 670, 690, 698); often one of the rhyming syllables is suppressed by elision (248 *cavo saxo atque*; cf. 361, 580, 646).

16 **ipsi**: most probably Diomedes rather than Aeneas. To end a plea for help by telling someone that he himself has a shrewder notion of a third party's intentions than others have is flatteringly persuasive; to suggest that the very people requesting help are uncertain about the actual need for it because they cannot guess a third party's intentions is very uncompelling.

17 **regi...regi**: the formal repetition of diplomatic language, such as might be used in the set speech of an ambassador laying stress on his credentials: cf. *A.* 10.149 *regem adit et regi memorat...* and *A.* 11.294 f. *et responsa simul quae sint, rex optime, regis / audisti.*

18-35 *The impending war fills Aeneas with a turmoil of unrest: his thoughts dart in all directions like rays of light reflected from troubled water, and he does not rest until long after night has fallen and all other creatures are asleep. Then the god of the Tiber appears to him in his sleep with a message of comfort.*

18 **talia per Latium**: *'gerebantur' subaudis: et est formosa ellipsis,* Servius. The verb is easily 'supplied'; if actually expressed, it would attract too much attention to an unimportant idea, and cause the style to become diffuse, against Virgil's whole tendency. Such ellipses are not common in earlier poetry; in Virgil cf., for example, *G.* 4.528; *A.* 9.636; *A.* 12. 154 and 195.

18 **Laomedontius heros**: Laomedon succeeded his father Ilos as king of Troy (see the stemma 134 ff.), and was the father of Priam and Hesione (cf. 157 f.). He fortified the citadel (*Pergama* 37) with the help of Apollo and Poseidon (*Il.* 7.425 f.), but refused to pay them the promised reward. To punish him, Apollo sent a plague and Poseidon a sea-monster. Laomedon's crime was advertised by the Augustan poets as the sin of the Trojan fathers continually visited on their Roman descendants: cf. *G.* 1.501 f. *satis iam pridem sanguine nostro / Laomedonteae luimus periuria Troiae* and Horace *Odes* 3.3.21 ff.

18 **Laomedontius heros**: in marked contrast to Homer's repetition of stylised formulae with proper names, like πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς etc., Virgil varies his periphrases as much as possible: in *A.* 1 Jupiter is referred to as *divum pater atque hominum rex* (65), *o qui res hominumque deumque / aeternis regis imperiis* (229 f.), *rex magne* (241), *hominum sator atque deorum* (254); in *A.* 6 Aeneas is referred to as *sate sanguine divum, / Tros Anchisiade* (125 f.), *Anchisa generate, deum certissima proles* (322), *dux Anchisiade* (348), *Troius heros* (451). This is one symptom of the great difference between poetry which is orally transmitted (lays, ballads, etc.), where the reciter's memory needs support from repeated formulae, and written poetry, with time and scope for artistic variation. For an excellent dis-

cussion of this and other differences between primary and secondary epic, see C. S. Lewis, *Preface to Paradise Lost*, esp. ch. 4.

19 **magno...fluctuat aestu**: this metaphor for emotional disturbance, 'billowing on a mighty surge', is common in Greek and Latin poetry: see Pease's collection of instances on *A*. 4.532, and cf. esp. Lucr. 6.34 *volvere curarum tristis in pectore fluctus*, and the very similar Catullus 64.62 *prospicit et magnis curarum fluctuat undis*.

20 f. These lines are exactly the same as *A*. 4.285 f. Here they are undoubtedly genuine and appropriate, as they are almost certainly also in *A*. 4 (so Pease and Austin *ad loc.*, against Sparrow 143). Nor is it surprising that Virgil should repeat lines modelled on the repeated Homeric formula διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν (*Il.* 1.189, 8.167, 13.455); he was following epic precedent, although he does not and does not need to repeat set-phrases as often as Homer, and in the case of formulae with proper names clearly preferred variation (see the note on 18 *Laomedontius heros*).

20 **celerem**: the adjective here probably represents an adverbial notion (see the note on *seram* 30) and should be so translated. If it is a true epithet it is purely ornamental: it is not specially appropriate to Aeneas here, and the speed of the human mind in general was a commonplace, cf., for example, Soph. *Ant.* 353 ff. καὶ φθέγμα καὶ ἀνεμόεν / φρόνημα...ἐδιδάξατο (ἀνήρ) and Cic. *Tusc.* 1.43 *nihil est animo velocius*.

21 **in partisque**: not of course a true case of hyperbaton, for *-que* joined to the noun and not the preposition is common practice in prose; see *KS* 1.583 f.

22 ff. This simile is inspired by Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 3.755 ff.: 'the heart within her (Medea's) breast gave violent starts, just as a sunbeam, rising out of water which has just been poured (τὸ δὴ νέον... κέχυται) in a bowl or pail, darts about the house (δόμοις): hither and thither it dashes shaken by the swift eddy'.

Servius (on 19) is both wrong and superficial in saying *comparatio(-nem) quae est Apollonii verbum ad verbum*. There are three important differences: (1) τὸ δὴ νέον...κέχυται, which explains *why* the light reflected by the water is not still, is compressed to *tremulum*; (2) δόμοις is expanded into the luxurious dignity of *summi...laquearia tecti*; (3) as Pöschl notes (239 f. = 146 f.), moonlight is added to the simile to harmonise with the peaceful night-setting of the wider context.

Virgil's adaptation is commended by Warde Fowler (*ASR* 35 f.), Pöschl (*loc. cit.* above), condemned by Conington, Tyrrell (*Latin Poetry* (London, 1895), 141) and Heinze (*VeT* 250). More interesting than individual feelings about its appropriateness is the imaginative process by which Virgil came to use it. Mental agitation in Homer is regularly illustrated by a simile; at the beginning of *Od.* 20 a principal character, Odysseus himself, turns his troubles over in his mind before sleeping: this may have been Virgil's point of departure for the present passage (see M. Coffey, 'The Subject Matter of Virgil's Similes', *BICS* 8 (1961), 71). But Homer chose to illustrate the situation by similes of great realism: Odysseus' angry heart growls like a protective bitch confronted with a

stranger (14 ff.), and his body turns from side to side like a black pudding twisted round by a man eager to have it roasted (25 ff.). This type of simile was too unheroic for the canons of epic poetry as Virgil conceived them. The problem of what to put in its place was solved by the aftermath of associations provoked by the image of troubled water in 19, and this led Virgil to recall a brilliant example of one of Apollonius' chief characteristics, his treatment of the play of colour and light. (It is noteworthy that four out of the five similes in this book (here, 391 f., 589 ff., 622 f.) depend wholly or chiefly on light images and contribute to the unsombre atmosphere of the book.)

But the simile may have suggested itself also because of the similar *setting*: just before it (*Arg.* 3.751) Medea could find no share in the universal sleep, like Aeneas here.

22 **aquae...lumen**: = 'the light *from* the water' is an unusual phrase and like *radiantis* (23) may have been inspired by the diction of Lucretius 4.211 ff. ...*simul ac primum sub diu* splendor aquai / *ponitur, extemplo caelo stellante serena* / *sidera respondent in aqua* radiantia *mundi.*

22 **labris** here = 'basins' (Apollonius' *λέβητι ἠέ που ἐν γαυλῷ*), *labrum* being a shortened form of *lavabrum* (at, for example, Lucr. 6.799), cf. *l(av)atrina*. The quite different *labra* = 'lips' (connected with *lambo*) can however also refer to the lip or brim of a vessel.

22 **ubi**: postponed conjunctions usually occupy the second place in their clause (*ubi* 589; *ut* 88 and 89, 412; *donec* 326; *si* 140, 147, 396; *cum* 622; *quin etiam* 485; *namque* 497; *neu* 582). More rarely they are found in the third or even later place (*ubi* here; *ut* 58, 191; *si* 560; *cum* 276, 391; *quia* 650; *dum* (in *fifth* place) 454). In earlier Roman prose and poetry (including Lucretius), conjunctions are postponed frequently and freely (see *KS* 2.614 f.), but an analysis of the above cases suggests that Virgil's practice is by no means haphazard:

(1) the removal of a conjunction from the first place in a clause (or verse) enables the emphasis natural to that position to fall on the word(s) coming before the conjunction, and usually they can bear such emphasis appropriately (see further Marouzeau, *L'Ordre des Mots* 3 (Paris, 1949), 122 ff.);

(2) conjunctions delayed beyond second place draw attention to themselves, and are almost invariably found in the middle of a symmetrically arranged group of nouns and adjectives: the artistic arrangement of the words *and* the delayed conjunction point to neoteric (Catullan) practice;

(3) postponed conjunctions are particularly noticeable (with or without word-symmetry) at the beginning of similes: *ubi* here could hardly follow directly after *sicut* without being rather clumsy, and the same applies to 391 *non secus atque...cum*; *qualis ubi* (589), and *qualis cum* (622) are quite inoffensive. A good example with word-symmetry is *A.* 2.379 *improvisum aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem...*

23 ff. What is actually happening is unclear at first sight, partly because of poetic language, partly because of Virgil's tendency to say *multum in parvo et saepe in silentio.*

The reflected light (22) is *tremulum*, darting and mobile like Aeneas' thoughts, because the surface of the water is also tremulous, for it has just been poured into the bowl (Virgil omits what Apollonius expressly states).

The sunlight is reflected. *lumen...sole repercussum*, 'light reflected by (the action of) the sun' is a characteristically Virgilian variation of the normal prosaic expression *sole repercusso*, 'when the sun is reflected' (proposed as an emendation by Hoffmann, but unnecessary): an example of one aspect of *nova cacozelia* (see the note on 3).

imagine lunae is simply a periphrasis for *luna* (conclusive parallels are cited by Henry); cf. the note on *Caci facies* 194. It does not concentrate attention on the shape of the moon as seen in the water (as supposed by Long, cited by Conington): no distinct image can be seen on the surface of choppy water.

iamque (24) marks a transition to a *different* situation (cf. Wagner, *QV* 24.9). The difference is conveyed by *erigitur*, 'rises *straight up*' (cf. *rigidus*, and *erigit* at *A.* 3.422 f., 3.575 ff.). The diffused flickering light is now concentrated into a single beam, as would naturally happen after the water-surface had become still and smooth, as it was bound to do. Virgil follows out the simile to its pictorial conclusion, even though this last idea has no parallel in Aeneas' situation: his mind had not achieved a beam-like singleness and directness when he went to sleep, for his problems were still unsolved.

sub auras = 'skywards'; in view of *laquearia* (25) and Apollonius' δόμοις it cannot be pressed to mean 'up to the open air'. As at 104 *ante urbem*, Virgil may have put in a new context where it does not strictly fit a phrase remembered from a previous one where it did, *A.* 3.422 f. *sub auras / erigit*.

24 Note the bucolic diaeresis (the fourth foot, almost always a dactyl, ends with the end of a word) and the pause at it. It is called 'bucolic' because of its frequent use in Greek pastoral poetry, and (therefore) by the Virgil of the *Eclogues*: compare *A.* 8.352 (*quis deus incertum est*) *habitat deus; Arcades ipsum* with *Ecl.* 7.4 *ambo florentes aetatibus, Arcades ambo* (and note that the diaeresis and pause here are closely associated with the Greek loan-word *Arcades*; similarly in *A.* 8 with *scyphus* 278, *chorus* 718). But it was by no means the exclusive property of pastoral poetry: it occurs in Homer at the rate of about one line in ten. It does not occur nearly so frequently in the *Aeneid*, but Virgil clearly recognised its usefulness to secure variety of pause. Usually a pyrrhic word (of two short syllables) precedes the pause, as here and 198, 249, 278, 352, 388, 598, 718, a longer word at 205, 238, 666. Originally this pause seems to have carried with it overtones of pathos (see Norden 122 f.); in the *Aeneid* no clearly defined descriptive use can be discovered, although in recitation appropriate feeling could no doubt be voiced in lines as different as 249 *desuper Alcides telis premit, omniaque arma* and 388 *cunctantem amplexu molli fovet. ille repente*. Virgil does not often follow Lucretius in having a molossus before a pause at the end of the fourth foot (*A.* 8.613, 675, 729), and only excep-

tionally allows a spondaic word to stand there (*A.* 8.518; contrast *G.* 2.43, *A.* 6.43). The diaeresis at *A.* 8.86 and 511 is secondary and unimportant.

late loca occurs at the same position in the verse at *G.* 4.515, *A.* 2.495 and 9.190, differently arranged at *A.* 2.698, 6.265: it looks like a formula of older poetry, probably Ennius.

In an interesting article in *REL* 43 (1965), 261 ff., R. Lucot examines the 61 *heavy* bucolic punctuations in the *Aeneid* and establishes that a high proportion of bucolic clausulae of the type *si bona norint* occur in speech-passages (14 out of 22), only a low proportion in narrative and descriptive passages (9 out of 39). The three-word clausula produces greater conflict of ictus and accent than the two-word, and hence also a greater liveliness in recitation, which Virgil appropriately associates with direct speech. The same cause and effect operate when the bucolic diaeresis is preceded by a pyrrhic, and this too occurs more often in speech-passages than elsewhere.

25 **laquearia** here, as often elsewhere, = 'the panels of the ceiling'; some grammarians, ancient and modern (see *TLL* and Nettleship, *Contr. Lat. Lex.* respectively, *s.v. laquear*), believe that the correct spelling of the word in this sense is *lacuaria*, making clear the connection with the basic sense of *lacus* (see the note on 74); but the consensus of MS authority forbids introducing any such 'orthography' here. See further Austin on *A.* 1.726.

26-35 In composing this passage Virgil seems to have been reminded of two other sections of the *Aeneid* with partly similar situations:

(1) night-time was the appropriate time for visions of the gods (cf. *A.* 2.268 ff. and 5.835 ff.). In *A.* 3.147 ff. the *effigies sacrae divum Phrygiique penates* appear to Aeneas, sent by Apollo to explain his ambiguous oracle; their words reassure him, like those of Tiberinus here (*tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis A.* 3.153 = 8.35); they specified the goal of his wanderings, Tiberinus confirms that he has reached it;

(2) the situation which opens the episode in *A.* 3 (147 *nox erat et terris animalia somnus habebat,* where *animalia* as here = living creatures of all kinds, including mankind) is here expanded to two lines, while in *A.* 4.522 ff. it is amplified to six lines. Here Aeneas' mind is in a turmoil of *anxiety* (19 *magno curarum fluctuat aestu*); there (*A.* 4.504 ff.) Dido prepares her magic charms: *nox erat* (522) and everything is asleep, *at non infelix animi Phoenissa, neque umquam / solvitur in somnos...* (529 ff.): Dido never gets to sleep, because she is in a turmoil of *anger* (532 *magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu*). And there is a further variation at *A.* 9. 224 f. (everything is asleep...except the Trojan leaders holding an extraordinary council of war). This type of *ἔκφρασις χρόνου*, with its expected contrast, had been a *locus communis* of Greek poetry (see Pease on *A.* 4.522): the first example involving a comparison with *nature* is Euripides *I.A.* 9 ff.; it is tempting to believe that the famous fragment of Alcman describing a night scene, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (D. L. Page, Oxford, 1962) Alcman frg. 89, must have ended in accordance with the same convention (but see R. Pfeiffer, *Hermes* 87 (1959), 1 ff., last footnote).

26ff. **nox erat...cum...Aeneas...procubuit**: a construction known

as *cum inversum*; the position of the *cum* is 'changed around' so that it introduces not, as usual, the subsidiary idea but the main statement; in such cases the verb of the main clause, now introduced by *cum*, remains in the indicative. In archaic Latin *cum* (*quom*) can be used with an indicative to express any of its wide range of meanings, and serves as an all-purpose subordinating conjunction (in some cases the sense of *subordination* is very weak). With this history of development behind it, the indicative appropriate to a main statement of fact naturally held its own in the *cum inversum* construction. See R. D. Williams on *A*. 5.84 f., and cf. in *A*. 8 97 ff. *conscenderat...cum...vident...*, and 276 f. *dixerat...cum... velavit*. Virgil's fondness for the *cum inversum* construction is to be explained partly because it rests basically on simple parataxis (*cum* = little more than *et tum*), and so coheres with the general tendency of his style, but more because it was one of the ways (*postquam, ubi*, etc., with a perfect indicative were others) in which he could avoid narrative *cum* with the pluperfect subjunctive. This latter construction, so frequent in narrative prose, is extremely rare in narrative poetry. It does not occur in any poem certainly written by Virgil (see Wetmore's *Index s.v.*), and there seem to be only about ten instances in the whole of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Lucan, Silius Italicus and Valerius Flaccus (see Axelson 87 f.). This suggests that it was under a stylistic ban from epic diction, quite apart from the metrical inconvenience of the cumbrous verb-form, perhaps because of the cacophony of the -*ss*- sounds, perhaps because of the remoteness and lack of vividness of the tense. (The pluperfect subj. does of course occur in other constructions, notably at *A*. 4.603-6, where the repeated -*ss*- may echo the violent hatred of the sense: see Austin on *A*. 2.585.)

27 **alituum**: the regular gen. pl. *alitum* being a cretic in form could only be used in hexameters by a harsh elision of the last syllable; Virgil uses this practice only 'with clear limitations' (analysed by Austin on *A*. 4.684). The 'heteroclite' form *alituum* first appears in Lucretius (frequently: 2.928; 5.801, 1039, 1078; 6.1216), here only in Virgil, sporadically in later poets as a useful hexameter form (e.g. Manilius 5.369; Statius *Silv*. 1.2.184). Ennius may well have originated it, perhaps on the analogy of uncontracted Homeric gen. pls. like ἐτέων, Μουσάων. Leumann 150, n. 3, noting that *alituum genus* is a regular phrase, suggests that *alituum* was originally an adjective formed on the analogy of *perpetuus*, and subsequently interpreted as a gen. pl.

The reverse process of *contracting* a gen. pl. (of the 4th decl.) is a bolder licence, extended by Virgil only once to a word for which the licence is not already established, at *A*. 6.653, *currum* for *curruum* (on the model of *deum, equum*, etc.).

alites originally had sacral connotations in augury: 'prophetic birds'.

28 f. **pater...Aeneas**: note the wide separation of the two words closely connected in sense: a minor instance of the interlacing word-order which helps the flow of the verse (see the Appendix, p. 199).

28 **sub aetheris axe** also ends *A*. 2.512; as usual with such small repeated phrases there is no cross-reference between their contexts. Virgil

inherited a store of adaptable hexameter phrases from earlier poetry, but many he invented for himself. From the total stock the same phrase is often used, quite naturally, to describe something which is the same—at a literal superficial level, just as in the Homeric poems. *Occasionally* other associations in the contexts of the repeated phrase clearly relate to each other; particularly in the case of images and symbols the facet they present in any one context is sometimes complemented by those evident in another (the different aspects of Golden Age symbolism are an obvious example), and remembered associations enrich the new appearance of the image for a reader who has digested their material with the same reflective care as the poet himself. This is of course entirely different from supposing that Virgil used his repeated phrases as Wagner used his *leitmotivs*—deliberately and consciously to echo the emotional context of their first or most significant appearance; for an imaginative fantasy based on the improbable assumption that he did, see M. J. C. Putnam, *The Poetry of the Aeneid, Four Studies in Imaginative Unity and Design* (Harvard and Oxford, 1965).

29 **turbatus pectora**. The middle (or semi-reflexive) voice, which is common in Greek of all periods, was a mere vestige in Latin by the time of the earliest literary records, and confined to the perfect participles of verbs of dressing and undressing, *induor*, (*ac*)*cingor* and the like. For example, Plautus *Menaechmi* 511 f. *non ego te indutum foras / exire vidi pallam?*, 'did I not see you going out of doors dressed in (having put on yourself) a cloak?', where *indutum* is a middle participle (though passive in form) and *pallam* is its accusative direct object. This may be regarded as a native Latin construction on the point of extinction: Greek influence soon gave it a new lease of life:

(1) Ennius, whose syntax is often grecising, seems to have launched the extension whereby not the item of dress but the part of the body was made the direct object of the middle participle, with the dress or equipment in the instrumental ablative: *Ann.* 400 V *succincti corda machaeris*;

(2) Augustan poetry in particular extended the usage from participles to finite verbs, e.g. *A.* 7.640 *loricam induitur* (see the note on 457);

(3) the type *succincti corda*, where the participle is middle and the accusative one of direct object, could hardly avoid being reinterpreted as a truly passive participle with a 'Greek' accusative of respect (see the note on 425 *nudus membra*): hence expressions of the type *percussi membra timore*, Lucr. 5.1223, 'shattered by fear with respect to their limbs'.

When a perfect participle is used in this way with an accusative, only the context and meaning can decide whether it is more appropriate to analyse it as (1) a middle participle with an accusative direct object, or (2) a passive participle with an accusative of respect; sometimes, where the fusion is complete, it is impossible to say which of these parent constructions contributed the more. In the present passage, where Aeneas is clearly the passive object of external forces, (2) is more appropriate, 'his heart confused by grim war'; but 286 *evincti tempora*, and 662 *protecti corpora* allow either interpretation, although the fact that both phrases are

connected with the basic idea of 'dressing' gives a slight bias in favour of explanation (1). For Virgil's fondness for this type of construction see Norden on *A.* 6.281, and for its development see the references in R. D. Williams' note on *A.* 5.135.

29 **pectora** is poetic plural, like the Homeric στήθεα, used with reference to one individual only. Many parts of the body were naturally and properly referred to as pairs (*manus, oculi, tempora* 'temples' (684)), or in the plural (*digiti, capilli*), and by analogy, singular parts came to be pluralised, *pectora* perhaps through the influence of *papillae, mamillae*. Neuter plurals in *-a* of concrete and abstract nouns form by far the largest class of poetic plurals; usually their form is very suited to the needs of hexameter verse, and they became a recognised part of epic diction (but not of course confined to epic). Some contexts allow one to suppose that by this use of the plural poetry is aiming to be more emphatic or expressive; others make it quite clear that if this is occasionally true, the usage rapidly degenerated into a cliché. See further Löfstedt, *Syntactica* II², 27 ff., Marouzeau, *Traité de Stylistique Latine*² (1946), 222 f., Norden 408 f.

(For the history of *pectora* see 534 ff. of the fundamental discussion of poetic plurals by Paul Maas, *ALL* 12 (1902), 479 ff.)

Occasionally the metrical convenience of the plural form of an accompanying adjective seems to be more decisive than that of the noun itself, e.g. at *A.* 6.809 f. *nosco crinis incanaque menta / regis Romani.*

(The variant *pectore*, offered by the Medicean MS, though grammatically possible as an ablative of respect, is intolerable in juxtaposition with *bello* ablative, through assimilation to which it probably owes its existence.)

30 **seramque dedit per membra quietem**: it is common in Latin generally to find an adverbial notion, one which is logically most intimately connected with the verb of a sentence, expressed by an adjective attached to a noun; this is particularly the case when the notion is one of direction (like *transversus*), or of order in space or time (like *extremus, proximus*). In this construction the adjective is not attributive but predicative: the notion it expresses really belongs to the verb, but the inflected form of the adjective necessitates agreement with some noun. As Housman points out on Manilius 5.226, the adjective so used for an adverb may be attached to either subject or object (this follows from the fact that it does not directly qualify either): *vesperi forum pererro* may have as an equivalent either *vespertinus forum pererro* or *vespertinum(que) pererro / (saepe) forum* (Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.113 f.).

The existence of this idiom may partly explain why in Latin adverbs either simply do not exist to express some adverbial notions, or are only very rarely found. Even when adverbs were available for use, Virgil seems to have avoided all but the most common and colourless, probably because of their prosaic overtones; often of course they were simply intractable in hexameter verse (cf. *celerem* 20: *celeriter* is impossible in hexameters).

Virgil developed the idiom even further, especially with adjectives of time in imitation of Greek usage (with *crastina* 170, *matutini* 456, *matutinus* 465, cf., for example, *Od.* 4.655 f. ἴδον ἐνθάδε Μέντορα δῖον / χθιζὸν

ὑπηοῖον); and his authority launched it into post-classical prose, as did that of Livy, e.g. *praef.* 11 *serae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint*; 3.56.7 *seras...venire poenas*.

See further *LHSz* 2, 171 f., *KS* 1, 234 ff., R. D. Williams on *A.* 5.868.

30 **dedit** = 'let it spread'; cf. the similar sense of verbs like *demitto* = 'to let fall', etc.; see the note on 707 f.

31-96 The situation of Aeneas, uncertain of his exact whereabouts, with neither formed plans nor outside help to combat growing opposition recalls the situation of Odysseus on wakening in Ithaca (*Od.* 13.187 ff.). Virgil's structural scheme for this part of the book was no doubt shaped to some extent by Odysseus' situation there and, to a greater extent, by his reaching of the river-mouth on Scheria (*Od.* 5.441 ff.) (see the note on 86-9). Minutiae of detail should not be pressed (Knauer 239 ff. goes much too far in the search for similarities), but there is a correspondence in some salient features: Athene (at first in disguise) gives Odysseus confirmation that he has reached his goal, encourages him, promises him help, and tells him where he can find allies. Tiberinus does the same for Aeneas. (The germ-idea of giving such a role to Tiberinus probably derives from the friendly river-god of Homer's Scheria (*Od.* 5.451 ff.); the importance of the role he plays reflects Virgil's patriotic pride in the river of the capital city; the fact that he speaks directly and in person may point to Hellenistic precedent: the Nile is represented as speaking in Callimachus' poem on the victory of Sosibius (frg. 384.27 f. Pfeiffer); but the first precedent is again in Homer, the Scamander ἀνέρι εἰσάμενος speaking in *Il.* 21 (212 ff., 229 ff., 308 ff., 357 ff.).) After the divine appearance Odysseus prays to the local nymphs (*Od.* 13.356 ff.), as does Aeneas (71), and goes to meet a hospitable reception from the predicted ally Eumaeus the swineherd (*Od.* 14.1 ff.), just as Aeneas makes his way to Evander. But at this point Virgil seems to have been reminded of different Odyssean material (see the note on 97 ff.).

31 **deus...Tiberinus**: the most striking testimony to the superstitious respect accorded to the Tiber is an incident at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius; when it was proposed to divert some of the tributaries of the Tiber to prevent flooding, the envoys from Reate urged (Tac. *Ann.* 1.79) *spectandas etiam religiones sociorum, qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint: quin ipsum Tiberim nolle prorsus accolis fluviis orbatum minore gloria fluere*, and eventually no change was made.

See also the note on *tumentem* 86.

31 **deus ipse loci**: virtually equivalent to *genius loci*. There is an etymological connection between *genius* and *ingenium*: the *genius loci was* the character of the place, which became more and more personalised as religious thought became more and more sophisticated.

See R. D. Williams on *A.* 5.95, and R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought*², Index, *s.v. genius*.

31 **fluvio (Tiberinus) amoeno**: the same phrase at *A.* 7.30 is a descriptive ablative, and it is best so taken here also because of the word-order, the phrase enclosing the proper noun: Virgil may well have been

trying to devise an equivalent to a Greek compound adjective (*ἐύρροος* or *καλλίρροος*, both Homeric). But it may simultaneously function as an ablative of 'place from which'.

Tiberinus: Servius here comments *bene Tiberinus, quia supra dixerat deus: nam in sacris Tiberinus, in coenolexia Tiberis, in poemate Thybris vocatur.* Virgil only twice uses the 'ordinary language' form *Tiberis*, in the topological description at *G.* 1.499, and in the geographical catalogue at *A.* 7.715. *Tiberinus* is certainly most appropriate to the *deity*; it is the form which occurs in the prayers of the pontifices and augurs (Cic. *Nat. Deorum* 3.52 *in augurum precatione Tiberinum...alia propinquorum fluminum nomina videmus*), and in the formula of the ancient prayer, uttered no doubt during summer drought, *adesto, Tiberine, cum tuis undis* (Servius on *A.* 8.72); for inscriptional evidence, cf. *CIL* 11.1.3057 on a stone discovered not far from the Tiber channel, *Sex. Atusius...primus omnium aram Tiberino posuit quam caligatus voverat.* The termination *-inus* was popular in plebeian Latin and gave rise to numerous names of divinities, like *Libitina* (see F. T. Cooper, *Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius* (New York, 1895), 139 ff.).

32 **populeas...frondes**: poplars naturally grow on river-banks, but the leaves also suit the river-god pictorially, aqueously grey-green (cf. *glauco* 33), and hoary, like his hair (*senior*). Poplar sprays are worn by a priest of a river, the Phasis, at Val. Fl. 6.296 f.

32 **populeas...frondes**: lines 'framed' by an adjective at the beginning and the corresponding noun at the end are fairly common (cf. also 58, 116, 235, 280, 286, 300, 526 (causing hypallage), 704; and cf. 207, 690). The reverse order, with noun at the beginning and adjective at the end, is much rarer (only ten examples in the *Aeneid*—in *A.* 8 only one, at 315). Virgil was fond but not over-fond of this kind of word-symmetry. Ennius and Lucretius had stumbled into it, but rarely and apparently unconsciously (although there was Homeric precedent for it, e.g. *Od.* 22.396 *δμῳάων σκοπός ἐσσι κατὰ μέγαρ' ἡμετεράων*), whereas the Roman poets who imitated the Alexandrians had overworked it (in Catullus' epyllion (64) it occurs 21 times in 408 verses). In this as in other matters, Virgil steered a middle course between the crudeness of the older poets and the self-conscious artistry of the moderns, using a design frequently enough to be effective without becoming tediously repetitive (in *A.* 6, for example, it occurs 14 times in 901 verses). See the Appendix, p. 200, and Norden 391 f.

32 **inter**: it is common enough in poetry to find instances of anastrophe ('turning round') with disyllabic prepositions, so that they *follow* the noun or pronoun which they govern (cf. 310 *omnia circum*; 418 *quam subter*; 631 *ubera circum*; 671 *haec inter*); similarly the preposition may be interposed between noun and adjective (as at 297 *ossa super...semesa* with intervening words), or between adjective and noun (as here, and 608 *At Venus aetherios inter dea candida nimbos*). Marouzeau discusses the whole topic (*L'Ordre des Mots* 3, 44 ff.), and observes (p. 58) that instances are particularly frequent with *inter*, as if the very sense of this preposition

predisposed it to being *inter*posed. Virgil has a simple example at *G.* 1.33 *Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentis*, but in this line and at 608 he has gone further: not merely the preposition, but the *senior* literally appears placed between *populeas*...*frondes*, and the goddess likewise between *aetherios*... *nimbos*: word-symmetry is accommodated to sense with almost neoteric playfulness; cf. also *A.* 12.583 *exoritur trepidos inter discordia civis*. Similar too is *G.* 1.259 *frigidus agricolam si quando continet imber* where the *agricola* is literally 'hemmed in' by the *frigidus*...*imber*: here the word-symmetry is virtually made possible by the delayed conjunction *si quando* (see the note on 22 *ubi*). See further Wilkinson 65 f.

32 **senior**: 'Old Man River' as always. Rivers and seas naturally impressed the primitive mind as primeval, elemental forces, and their presiding deities were worshipped with the respect and veneration accorded (especially in primitive societies like early Rome, as Aulus Gellius points out, *N.A.* 2.15.1) to old age (cf. *A.* 5.823 *et senior Glauci chorus*...). See also the note on *genitor* 72.

33 A pause after a trochaic word at the beginning of the line (as here, *visus*) is not nearly so common as after an opening dactylic word (as in the next line, *carbasus*). Both pauses can be, and often are, used simply to secure variety; but the light tripping rhythm of a trochee, if halted by a pause, naturally suggests quick light easy action, so *visus* here, *surgit, et* 68 (where there is a light pause whether marked or not), and in the formula *dixit, et* 366, 615 (compare the dactylic formula *dixerat* 276, 387 which also despatches rapidly an unimportant idea).

33 **eum**: the acc. masc. sing. of *is* occurs twice in this book (also at line 576), only in four other places in the *Aeneid*; the acc. masc. pl. *eos* only once at *A.* 1.413. The oblique cases of *is* are weak and colourless words in a style which aims at economy and density of expression, and Virgil generally prefers the oblique cases of *vir* as more forceful equivalents; prose authors had done the same before him, using also the oblique cases of *homo* (see Holden on Cic. *Sest.* 22). The infrequency of *is* and its forms in poetry after the prosaic Lucretius is examined by Axelson 70 ff. Further statistics for the elegists, who show a like aversion, are given by Platnauer, Appendix A.

33 f. Tiberinus appears with the conventional trappings of a Greco-Roman river god. In art (coins, statues, bas-reliefs) he is represented as a bearded old man reclining on his elbow and letting water flow from an urn; he is scantily clad and crowned with reeds (see J. A. Hild in Daremberg-Saglio 5, 298 ff. *s.v.* and esp. figg. 6938-40). Virgil clothes him in *carbasus*, linen (of the kind also used for sails) made from a type of fine flax which, according to Pliny *N.H.* 19.(2).10 grows well by river-irrigation and for which the Tiber valley was famed (in the Augustan period) according to Grattius, *Cynegetica* 36 ff. *aprico Tuscorum stuppea campo / messis contiguum sorbens de flumine rorem, / qua cultor Latii per opaca silentia Thybris / labitur inque sinus magno venit ore marinos*. His headgear is naturally made of grey-green reeds, cf. *A.* 10.205 f. *velatus harundine glauca* (of the river Mincius), and Ovid *A.A.* 1.223 *hic est Euphrates, praecinctus harundine*

frontem (of a picture carried in a triumphal procession). The river-god's dress was Greek in origin before the Romans adopted it; but at *A.* 10.423 *Thybris pater* has an *Italian* oak on which the spoils taken from the enemy are dedicated: another example of the syncretism of Greek and Roman myth and religion which Virgil promoted.

33 **glauco**, Gr. γλαυκός, is one of a number of colour-adjectives (*fulvus* and *flavus* are others) which are emotive and suggestive rather than precisely descriptive; *glaucus* refers to some shade in a grey-green-blue complex.

34 **harundo**: collective singular, see the note on *abiete* 599.

35 = *A.* 2.775 and 3.153: a repeatable formula for consoling apparitions (Creusa, Penates, Tiberinus).

adfari...demere: may be regarded as historic infinitives (as Page *ad loc.*); or, like *attollere*, after *visus* (as Servius *auctus* here, and R. D. Williams on *A.* 3.153): in strict logic *auditus adfari* would be required, but *videor* was weakened idiomatically = 'seem', and even when not so weakened *video* is used alone in synaesthetic expressions where sight- *and* sound-impressions are closely linked, cf. *A.* 2.732 *visus adesse pedum sonitus*, *A.* 6.257 *visaeque canes ululare per urbem*, and in prose Cic. *Or.* 168 *contiones saepe exclamare vidi*. See also the note on 526 *mugire*. For historic infinitives see the note on 493.

36-65 *The river-god greets Aeneas and assures him that he has at last reached the promised land. In token of this he will see a white sow with a litter of thirty young under the oak-trees on the river-bank (an omen of the founding of Alba Longa by Ascanius). He then advises Aeneas to solve his most pressing problem (the lack of troops) by seeking an alliance with Evander and the Arcadians, to whom he will himself lead him. Finally the river-god reveals himself as Tiberinus.*

Notice how Tiberinus' speech is designed to give Aeneas assurance and encouragement. This is no deceptive dream; the truth of what is said will be confirmed by an omen, and the revelation of the god's identity confirms its truthfulness beyond doubt. Both of the immediate obstacles can be overcome (*superes* 58 ...*supera* 61), the first, the down-stream current, by Tiberinus' own help, the second, Juno's anger, by Aeneas' prayers.

37 **qui**: relative pronouns are more commonly postponed from their position in the clause than any other connective word; usually they occupy the second place (e.g. 62, 110, 141, 226, 239, 272, 340, 564, 680), less frequently an even later one (as here, 194, 427). By vacating the leading position in the clause, they allow greater emphasis to fall on the word(s) before them, but this should not always be assumed: earlier usage in prose and poetry had become fairly fluid, and the demands of metre played a part. See also the note on postponed conjunctions, 22 *ubi*.

37 **revehis**: 'you bring *back*' the civil traditions which had been founded among the Trojan race by Dardanus, after his emigration to Phrygia from Corythus in Etruria: see the note on 134.

37 **aeterna**: here a 'proleptic' adjective whose sense anticipates what

is to be the case rather than stating what is at the moment true; cf. Servius *auctus 'pro servas et aeterna facis'*. In this idiom, which is rare in prose but more frequent in poetry, the adjective is predicative, and quite unambiguously describes a state which results from the action of the verb, cf., for example, *A.* 10.103 *premit placida aequora pontus.*

When the adjective is a perfect participle the situation is not so clear because a number of factors are at work. The idiom *urbem captam incendit* was well established by the time of Caesar to mean 'he captured the city and (then) burnt it'; in other words the past time-reference of the perfect participle could be taken for granted. But originally this participle had no specific time-reference (see the note on 636). Virgil therefore was moving (as usual) in the direction of archaism in devising an idiom with the same formal structure as the Caesarian idiom mentioned above, but with an opposite meaning: at, for example, *A.* 1.69 *submersasque obrue puppes*, the time-reference of the participle must be either contemporaneous or subsequent to that of the main verb, either 'overwhelm the ships and sink them' or 'overwhelm the ships so that they sink'. In examples of this kind the participle can be labelled 'proleptic' because it has obvious links with pure adjectives which are proleptic, but only the context can decide whether the participle refers to the same time as that of the main verb or a subsequent time, and it is often difficult to pin this down precisely: cf. *G.* 4.547 *placatam Eurydicen vitula venerabere caesa*; *A.* 8.227 *fultosque emuniit obice postis*; *A.* 8.260 f. *angit inhaerens / elisos oculos*. See further Conway on *A.* 1.69; Palmer, *LL* 327; *KS* 1, 239 f.

38 **exspectate...**: cf. the oracle of Faunus, *A.* 7.254 ff.

38 **solo Laurenti...arvisque Latinis**: either ablative of place, or possibly of agent. In the latter case Virgil is employing the pathetic fallacy (i.e. attributing personal, human feelings to nature) as in the *Eclogues* (e.g. 1.38 f. *ipsae te Tityre, pinus, / ipsi te fontes, ipsa haec arbusta vocabant*), and especially in the τόπος of the pastoral lament (e.g. *E.* 10.13 ff. *illum etiam lauri, etiam flevere myricae, / pinifer illum etiam sola sub rupe iacentem / Maenalus, et gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycaei*).

39 **certa...certi**: when a disyllabic word is repeated in the same line (for rhetorical emphasis or to enhance pathos) it is Virgil's practice to vary the position of the metrical stress by making it coincide with the word-accent on its first occurrence and clash with it on its second: cf. 45 *álba... albí*; 71 *nýmphae...nympháe*; 76 *sémper...sempér*. The same thing happens with a word-group, *iam tum*, in successive lines at 349 f.

39 **ne absiste**: *ne* with a present imperative in second person prohibitions is common in Old Latin but was rejected by the classical prose writers. It is one of many archaic features of style revived by Virgil to give dignity to his epic, and is used once by Livy, 3.2.9 (a soldier of the Aequi shouts to the Romans) *crastino die oriente sole redite in aciem; erit copia pugnandi, ne timete*, where Livy is trying to suit to the speaker the tone of old-fashioned downrightness which this construction had come to convey. *ne absiste* requires either *ab incepto* or *a loco* to complete its sense. Virgil consciously exploited the wide area of meaning which certain words

have when not further qualified—another instance of means (economy of expression) going hand in hand with intention.

40 **tumor...et irae**: cf. *A*. 6.407 *tumida ex ira tum corda residunt*. The '*swelling* rage' (*tumor...et irae* are best taken as a hendiadys) is perhaps another metaphor from the sea (cf. the note on 19), but more probably from the swelling of the liver to produce, or other organs to absorb, bile (cf. *Il*. 9.646 οἰδάνεται κραδίη χόλῳ and R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought*[2] (Cambridge, 1954), 84 ff.). When two substantives are linked by a simple copula to express two complementary aspects of the same thing, it is usual for the one with more general application to be placed first, as here (*tumor*, a swelling of any kind; *irae*, a specific emotion).

41 **concessere**: this word has presented a problem of interpretation ever since antiquity. Some scholars (cf. Servius *auctus*) took it as equivalent to *discessere*, 'have vanished') (cf. *A*. 2.91 *superis concessit ab oris*; *A*. 10.819 f. *tum vita per auras / concessit maesta ad manis*). The objection to this, of course, is that it is not literally true: Juno was still as hostile as ever. Servius suggests that *concedo* is here used in the sense of *permitto* or *indulgeo* (cf. *E*. 2.57, 10.1), 'the angry ferment of the gods has allowed it' (sc. the founding of the *certa domus*), and to answer the same objection he points out that even Juno's anger did not alter the decree of fate (at *A*. 7.313 f. she says *non dabitur regnis, esto, prohibere Latinis, / atque immota manet fatis Lavinia coniunx*). But the ellipse of any word or phrase to indicate what was permitted is extremely harsh, and the ancient supplement *profugis nova moenia Teucris*, perhaps inspired by *A*. 10.158, can hardly be taken as certainly representing Virgil's intention, since he could so easily have completed the line and the sense in this way himself.

The solution to the problem is that lack of truth is not a relevant objection (as was seen in antiquity, cf. Servius *auctus*: *alii ita tradunt: nondum concesserunt, sed utiliter dissimulat* (sc. *Tiberinus*)). Even though he alludes to Juno's *present* hostility in 60 f. he is at the moment concealing the truth to encourage Aeneas. Epic tradition sanctioned lies in the mouths of gods and heroes (cf., for example, Athene at *Od*. 1.179 ff. and Venus at *A*. 5.794 f.) as well as mere mortals (cf. the note on 10 ff.). All the most notable nocturnal apparitions to Aeneas give him advice and encouragement when he is in doubt and despair (cf. *A*. 2.270 ff., Hector; 3.147 ff., Penates; 4.556 ff., Mercury; 5.722 ff., Anchises): in such contexts misrepresentation is permitted and expected.

41 One of the three 'half-lines' in this book (the others are 469 and 536). Some scholars believe that Virgil intended to leave the incomplete lines as they were and that they would still have remained if Virgil had lived to carry out a final revision of the *Aeneid*. If this had been his intention, it is very strange that of succeeding hexameter poets who imitated his every mannerism so closely, not one should have imitated him in this also; and it would be even more surprising if Virgil, who had such great respect for precedent in matters of form, should have seen fit to make such an innovation (and that only in his *epic* poem). Some of the 'half-lines' are admittedly effective in themselves, and it is difficult to see how some of them

could have been completed—but it is no doubt this very difficulty which caused Virgil to leave them temporarily, because he knew that he would have to change the surrounding lines as well, and could not interrupt the flow of inspiration to settle the details of a troublesome passage. This is the explanation given by Donatus in his *Life of Virgil* (22 ff.) in a section which is of cardinal importance for understanding Virgil's methods of composition: 'We are told that every day he used to dictate a very large number of verses which he had worked out in the morning, and during the whole day he would work them over and reduce them to a very small number, aptly saying that he gave birth to a shapeless poem like a mother bear giving birth to a cub, and that at long last he licked it into shape. The *Aeneid* was first sketched in *prose* and set out into twelve books, and he began to versify it piece by piece as any part took his fancy and not taking anything systematically (*nihil in ordinem arripiens*); and, so that nothing should check his inspiration, he passed over some things which were unfinished (*quaedam imperfecta transmisit*) and others he propped up with trivial words, which he used to say were placed at intervals through a passage to serve as props (*pro tibicinibus*), to hold the work up until solid columns arrived.'

See Sparrow, *Half-Lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (Oxford, 1931) for a cautious and necessarily inconclusive examination of the whole topic, and F. W. Lenz, *The Incomplete Verses in Vergil's Eneid* in *Vergiliana* (ed. H. Bardon and R. Verdière, Leiden, 1971), 158 ff.

Inventing supplements to complete the half-lines became a favourite pastime soon after the *Aeneid*'s publication; most of them fail to impress even as speculations because the majority of the half-lines themselves complete the sense of the passage they end (cf. Donatus *Vita* 41).

42-9 Following a suggestion of Heyne, Ribbeck wished to delete these lines from *iamque* to *haud incerta cano*. (This would solve the problem of the half-line 41 by making the passage run *concessere deum. nunc qua ratione quod instat*...). Hirtzel thought that they had not received their final form, Mackail that they were a later insertion. The chief problem is that 43-6 are, with the exception of the one word *hic* 46, an exact repetition of Helenus' prophecy in *A*. 3.390-3. But it is no serious objection that the same prophecy is made by both Helenus and Tiberinus: the portent of 'eating the tables' is *announced* by the Fury Celaeno (*A*. 3.250 ff.), but *attributed* to Anchises (*A*. 7.123 ff.). Helenus' prophecy is more integrally connected with its context than 42-9 here; but if 42-9 are deleted the actual appearance of the sow, 81 ff., is left without interpretation of its significance or back-reference to Helenus. It seems highly probable that the *Aeneid* left Virgil's hand with the prophecy repeated. Varius and Tucca, commissioned by Augustus to remove superfluities (according to Donatus' *Life of Virgil*), presumably left both intact. Grassmann-Fischer 54 f. plausibly argues that *A*. 3.389 *cum tibi sollicito secreti ad fluminis undam* is so aptly realised in *A*. 8 (anxiety: 19, 29; locality: 28, 31) that the repetition of the prophecy must be intentionally planned.

One can only speculate about what Virgil's final intention might have

been. There are a number of repetitions or inconsistencies between *A.* 3 and other books which would be explained if, as Nettleship suggested (p. 25 of his introduction to Conington's ed.) *A.* 3 was the first book to be sketched, when Virgil intended to follow an annalist sequence rather than Homer's example of plunging *in medias res* (see M. M. Crump, *The Growth of the Aeneid* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1920), ch. 2). As the work grew, the poet's ideas also grew and changed: *A.* 3 would probably have received more drastic alteration than any other at the final revision.

42 **iamque tibi**: prophecies regularly begin by addressing the interested party, cf. *cum te, nate...* *A.* 7.124 ff.; this is here expressed by a dative of interest with the intransitive *iacebit* (44).

43 **litoreis**: this adjective, probably a coinage of Virgil's, occurs in the *Aeneid* only here (= *A.* 3.390) and at *A.* 12.248, also in an omen-scene with rather exalted language. *ripa*, the usual word for a river-bank, had produced no adjectival form by Virgil's time.

43 The pattern of assonance and alliteration is evident enough: lītoreīs *ĭngens ĭnven*ta *sub* īlĭcĭ*bus sus*, but note that although the first syllables of *ingens* and *inventa* are long metrically, the vowel sound itself is short: cf. Cic. *Or.* 159 *quid vero hoc elegantius, quod non fit natura sed quodam instituto: indoctus dicimus brevi prima littera, insanus producta, inhumanus brevi, infelix longa et, ne multis, quibus in verbis eae primae litterae sunt quae in sapiente atque felice, in producte dicitur, in ceteris omnibus breviter.* On the important distinction between vowel-length and syllabic quantity see W. S. Allen, *Vox Latina* (Cambridge, 1965), 89 ff.

ingens: the first appearance in this book of the *Aeneid*'s most overworked adjective; see the note on 192.

43-5 *The legend of the sow.* The modifications which the story of the sow underwent are instructive. The earliest version, that of Lycophron (1255 ff.), gives these details: a *black* sow will be carried on board Aeneas' ships from Troy; having 'numbered' her litter of thirty, Aeneas will found a city near the Latins; he will make a bronze image of the sow and consecrate it to the city. This account clearly implies that the sow and her litter belong to the class of *signa* or *monstra* sent by a guiding deity to indicate to the coloniser where he should settle; such *monstra* may be capable of further interpretation, like the horse's head in *A.* 1.443 ff., which not only indicates a settling-place to the Poeni, but is also an omen of military distinction and abundant sustenance.

The early annalist Fabius Pictor (*apud* Diodorum 7.5 = frg. 4 *HRF* Peter) tells of a white sow escaping from the sacrifice and leading the Trojans to the site of Alba Longa. It looks as if an important detail has been changed (assuming Lycophron's κελαινή not to refer to the bronze of the later statue, or to be vaguely = *horrenda*) to form an aetiological myth to explain the name *Alba*, and to bring that town into connection with the Aeneas saga.

Varro (*L.L.* 5.144), deriving the name Alba from the *sus alba* in this way, adds that when the sow had escaped from Aeneas' ship to *Lavinium* she gave birth to thirty pigs, and as a result of this portent Alba was

founded thirty years after the foundation of Lavinium. Lavinium had obviously gained prominence in the saga as Aeneas' city (perhaps to meet the demands of a crude chronology), and was duly incorporated in the legend.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.56), probably drawing on works of Varro no longer extant, supplies two important details not yet explicit in the tradition: (1) after the sow had been followed to Lavinium, the Trojans were dismayed at the unsuitable site where she had chosen to stop, but were cheered by the prediction that after a number of years corresponding to the number of the sow's litter, a new city would be founded from there; (2) this prediction was made by a divine voice issuing from a wood, or (according to another version he records) delivered to Aeneas in a dream by a god of his country. In this account we can perhaps detect (1) embarrassment at Aeneas' connection with *two* city foundations, and (2) the idea for Virgil's Tiberinus.

Varro (*R.R.* 2.4.18) says that this was the most ancient example of the *prodigium* of a sow with more young than teats; and that a bronze statue of the group existed in his day, and the body of the sow, pickled in brine, was displayed by the priests (an early example of that local Italian pride in relics which encourages fraud).

The panel of the '*Ara Pacis*' with the sacrifice of Aeneas (*CAH* Plates 4, 122 f.) shows him with covered head about to sacrifice the sow. Like Virgil, the artist regarded the sow primarily as a foundation-symbol: in the background is a little shrine of the *penates* (*certi*, *A.* 8.39). It is possible that the artist conceived the sacrifice as being made to the female figure on the panel on the opposite side of the altar; there is a seated female figure on the same panel of the Altar of the Belvedere which shows Aeneas with the sow and, for reasons of space, less than thirty young (see L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, Connecticut, 1931), 188 f.). The female figure on both altars has been identified with Terra Mater, but whatever the artists' intentions, there is nothing in the narrative of the *Aeneid* to suggest that Virgil is equating Juno with Terra Mater or any other deity or personification.

As Alföldi suggests (271 ff.), the sow, or rather wild boar, may originally have been a Latian tribal totem which developed into a symbol of leadership; variations in the myth reflect competing claims to the leadership of Latium.

See further W. Ehlers, 'Die Gründungsprodigien von Lavinium und Alba Longa', *MH* 6 (1949), 166-75.

43 **sub ilicibus sus**: the same closing monosyllable at Lucretius 5.25 *et horrens Arcadius sus*, and *G.* 3.255 *ipse ruit dentesque Sabellicus exacuit sus.* Norden 441 points out that with monosyllabic nouns of this type ending the verse there is a clear echo of Greek practice. Often the rhythm they produce has evident pictorial effect, as at *A.* 5.481 *sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos* (see Williams' note there for references to the relevant literature); at *A.* 8.83 the *sus*, the long-delayed subject of the sentence, appears with the effect of surprise; here, with the sound-play

-bus sus, it is almost a comic surprise (like the famous *exiguus mus* of *G.* 1.181): the sow is an authentic but quaint detail of the tradition.

44 **triginta capitum fetus enixa**: 'having delivered a litter of thirty young'. *capitum fetus* is a dignified periphrasis for *porcelli*, avoided intentionally by Virgil (cf. *nati* 45; *fetu* 82; *grege* 85). Of animal diminutives *bucula*, *capella* and *capreolus* occur in the *Eclogues* (pastoral poetry was regarded as holding a low place in the hierarchy of literary forms), *bucula*, *capella* and *asellus* in the *Georgics* (with stricter stylistic requirements). In any case *capella* and *asellus* seem to have been preferred to *capra* and *asinus* in all varieties of poetry. No animal diminutive occurs in the *Aeneid* except *catulus*, in a simile, at *A.* 2.357. See Axelson 40 and 44 f., and the note on 660 *sagula*.

45 R. D. Williams (on *A.* 3.392) is right in maintaining that the phrase *alba solo recubans* represents one idea only, and there should be no comma after *alba* as in some editions.

46 This line is generally regarded as spurious, and is suspect on grounds of text, style and meaning:

(1) It is not found in either of the oldest most complete MSS, the *Mediceus* and *Palatinus*; it was not paraphrased by Tiberius Donatus, and it was apparently absent from texts available to Servius because he understands *ex quo* to mean *qua ratiocinatione* (if he had had 46 in front of him he would surely have taken it to mean *ex quo loco*).

(2) It involves a clumsy repetition of words in the following line: *hic locus urbis erit...ex quo (loco)...urbem...Ascanius...condet.*

(3) As *A.* 3.393 (with *is* for the *hic* here) it is appropriate: Helenus means that the *country* in which the omen occurs will provide the site for the city. Here it is inappropriate: *locus* can hardly mean 'country' (= *Latium*, Grassmann-Fischer 58 f.), and if it did the line would be a rather pointless repetition of the sense of 39; equally it cannot mean 'precise spot' because Aeneas' city Lavinium, which is presumably referred to here, was twelve (Roman) miles from the Tiber (see the note on 1 *Laurenti*), and an allusion to it in the middle of a context exclusively concerned with Alba Longa is too awkward to be acceptable (see Grassmann-Fischer 61 for the contrary view).

Tiberinus is simply making the equation *alba sus* = *Alba Longa*, *triginta annos* = the time which will elapse before Ascanius founds it (the traditional interpretation of the legend of the portent, cf. Varro *R.R.* 2.4, *L.L.* 5.144 referred to in the note on 43-5). The portent will establish the truth of Tiberinus' prediction that the Latin plain is Aeneas' destined home and the seat of power of his son and descendants; Aeneas' city Lavinium is not mentioned and remains under the veil of mystery which Virgil casts over it.

The cause of the interpolation is either that a knowledgeable scribe let his memory run on too far, or that a marginal note of *A.* 3.390-3 (for comparison) was incorporated *in toto* into the text here in spite of the inappropriateness of the last line (the same thing has happened in a ninth century MS, *Bernensis* 255/239, at *A.* 8.60 f. where a recollection of

A. 3.438 f. has ousted the true reading, and may have happened much earlier in the tradition at *A.* 6.702 which inappropriately repeats *A.* 2.794).

V. Buchheit in *Philologus* 109 (1965), 104 ff. argues convincingly that Tibullus' poem 2.5 shows his knowledge of the whole of the *Aeneid* and in particular of Tiberinus' speech in *A.* 8; but it is doubtful whether the very common words of the phrase *hic magnae iam locus urbis erit* (Tib. 2.5.56, and cf. Ovid *Fasti* 2.280 *hic, ubi nunc urbs est, tum locus urbis erat* and *Met.* 15.18 *hic locus urbis erit*) prove the *authenticity* of *A.* 8.46, or even that this line was in Tibullus' copy of the *Aeneid.*

46 The demonstrative pronoun is, as usual, attracted into the gender of the predicate: the strictly logical *hoc erit locus, id erit requies* becomes *hic erit locus, ea erit requies* (cf. *A.* 6.129 *hoc opus, hic labor est*; *A.* 1.17 *hoc* (for *hanc* = *Karthaginem*) *regnum dea gentibus esse*...); and in prose, Cic. *Phil.* 7.14 *quamquam illa* (for *illud*) *legatio non est.* Sporadic examples of the more logical construction appear in prose from the early Empire onwards, e.g. Seneca *Tranq.* 2.4 *id tranquillitas erit.*

47 f. 'Consequently, in the course of thrice ten revolving years, Ascanius will found the city of Alba with its brilliant name.' *ex quo* = 'after and because of this'; cf. *ex illo* at *A.* 2.169 and 12.32. The archaic tone of Tiberinus' oracle is sustained by the poeticism *ter denis* (the force of the distributive numeral being lost), an echo of Lucretius (1.311 *multis solis redeuntibus annis*, itself an echo of the Homeric *περιπλομένων* (*περιτελλομένων*) *ἐνιαυτῶν* at, for example, *Od.* 1.16; *Il.* 2.551), the forceful pattern of assonance and alliteration in A*scanius* c*lari* c*ondet* c*ognominis* A*lbam*, and by the ambiguity of *clari* = 'bright shining' and 'distinguished', a punning gloss on *Alba.*

Prophecies cannot be pressed for the precision they generally aim to avoid, but if Tiberinus means that Ascanius will found Alba thirty years after Aeneas sees the sow, this is not inconsistent with *A.* 1.267 ff. where it is prophesied that Ascanius will reign for thirty years and transfer the kingdom from Lavinium to Alba, unless this is implausibly pressed to imply that the transfer took place at the end of Ascanius' reign.

The descendants of Aeneas as the kings of Alba are a fiction, introduced into the annalist tradition by Fabius Pictor, designed to fill the gap between conjectural dates for the Trojan War and the founding of Rome by Romulus. Virgil implies a date for the Trojan War, much later than that accepted as traditional by Roman historians, in Jupiter's prophecy, *A.* 1.261 ff. There, as here, he exploits the associations of the number three and its multiples in folklore and ritual. For other evidence of his preoccupation with significant numbers see O. A. W. Dilke, *CQ* N.S. 17, 2 (1967), 322-6.

49 **haud** negatives the adjective *incerta*; it is rarely found with verbs outside Old Latin, except in formulae like *haud scio* (*an*).

49 **cano**: as always of prophetic utterance (cf. 340, 499, 534), because it was metrical and so nearer to 'singing' or 'chanting' than speech.

49 ff. It is noticeable that when Virgil has a sense pause at the strong

caesura in the third foot, he often repeats it in the next line as well, or even as here and 580-2 in the next two lines; cf. 64 f., 185 f., 223 f., 298 f., 362 f., 411 f., 442 f., 514 f., 535 f., 572 f., 594 f., 621 f. But this does not alter the fact that the majority of such pauses are isolated, and in any verse-paragraph are not frequent enough to become monotonous. One of Ovid's failings as a hexameter poet is that he could not unlearn elegiac technique: in the *Metamorphoses* pauses at this position are far more frequent than in the *Aeneid*, no doubt because the metrical unit which precedes it is identical with that of half a pentameter.

50 **adverte**: the full expression *anim(um)adverto* (cf. the variation at *A*. 8.440 *advertite mentem*) is the older and original formula; *advertere* alone in the same sense is first found in poetry with Virgil (*A*. 4.116, the same phrase as here), and appears only sporadically in later prose and poetry.

Another variation of the same formula, also with ellipse of *verbis*, occurs at *A*. 11.314 f. *nunc adeo quae sit dubiae sententia menti, / expediam et paucis (animos adhibete) docebo* (whence, and perhaps also from *A*. 6.759, *expediam* has crept into the MS tradition here). It carries the didactic tone of self-conscious authority (the speakers are Juno, Tiberinus and Latinus).

51 'The Arcadians, a race descended from Pallas, ...(chose a spot) on these shores.' *proficiscor* here = 'originate from' (see *LS s.v.* II B 2). The wide separation of *his oris* from *delegere locum* (53) and the more common literal sense of *profectum* caused Servius to insist wrongly that the line meant *profectum ad has oras genus a Pallante, non a Pallante profectum* (although *genus a Pallante* could by itself = 'a race descended from Pallas', cf. 628 f. *genus omne futurae / stirpis ab Ascanio*).

51 f. Evander was the grandson of Pallas, king of Arcadia. After killing his father, Echenus, he was driven into exile and persuaded by his mother Nicostrate, *alias* Carmentis (*quia carminibus vaticinabatur*, Servius), to make for Italy. With his followers he occupied part of the future site of Rome, founding the city of Pallanteum on the *mons Palatinus* (*montibus* 53 is a poetic plural); both city and hill derived their names from the grandfather. Such is the substance of the legend; variant versions report that Evander's mother lived to be a hundred and was then killed by her son (Servius *auctus* on this line), and that Palatinus was derived from Pallantia, Evander's daughter, who had been raped by Hercules and buried on that hill (Varro *L.L.* 5.53). Virgil, however, alludes neither to Evander's past career as patri- and/or matri-cide, nor to Hercules' typical misbehaviour.

52 When a monosyllabic word (as *qui* here and *ut* 3) begins a line and so necessarily bears the metrical stress, a repetition of it after a strong caesura in the third or, as here, fourth foot places it in an unstressed position, and makes for rhythmic variety; cf. the note on 39 *certa...certi*.

52 This line exemplifies one of the simplest types of 'theme and variation' (see the note on 7 f.), produced by splitting up the prose complex *qui regis Euandri signa sunt secuti*.

52 **secuti**, sc. *sunt*: the third person of *esse* in compound tenses and when used as a simple copulative verb is more frequently omitted than the

first or second, singular or plural; cf. *effatus* (*est*) 443 and see Wagner, *QV* 15 for a list. Note that here and in 362 it is omitted in a relative (i.e. subordinate) clause (cf. the omission of *est* in 184): see the note on 175.

53 **delegere...posuere**: poetry preferred the 3rd pl. perfect termination *-ere* to *-erunt* both for metrical convenience and *per se*: it occurs at the end of a verse where *-erunt* would have been metrically possible, e.g. *A*. 2.243 *substitit atque utero sonitum quater arma dedere*. Cicero (*Or*. 157) found *-ere* flattering to the ear but felt that *-erunt* was more *correct*. The latter is the standard form of classical prose; Livy admits *-ere*, especially in Books 1 and 21, to give epic Ennian colouring. See Löfstedt, *Syntactica* II, 295; Leumann 144 f.

54 *proavus* is here loosely used to mean 'their ancestor'; strictly it means great-grandfather, and Pallas was Evander's grandfather. Virgil is not meticulously precise about such details of ancestry: Pilumnus is said to be Turnus' parent at *A*. 9.3, his grandfather at *A*. 10.76, his great-great-grandfather at *A*. 10.619.

54 **Pallanteum**: a spondaic fifth foot, making a *versus spondeiazon*. Such verses are much more frequent in the poetry of the Alexandrians than in Homer (roughly three times as frequent in Aratus' *Phaenomena* as in the *Iliad*), and the neoterics favoured them to excess (in three consecutive lines at Catullus 64.78-80): Cicero makes a joke of the foible, *Att*. 7.2.1 *Brundisium venimus...usi tua felicitate navigandi; ita belle nobis 'flavit ab Epiro lenissimus Onchesmites'* (*hunc σπονδειάζοντα si cui voles τῶν νεωτέρων pro tuo vendito*); and his dislike was not affected—there is only one instance (*Orionis*) in his translation of Aratus. On the other hand, Ennius and Lucretius had by no means deliberately avoided them. In the whole of Virgil (12,085 verses) there are only 33 instances (a severe reaction against neoteric practice), and the majority of these are clear imitations of Greek verse technique, with a Greek proper name (*Pallanteum* here and 341) or loan-word (*potest electro* 402); some are echoes of earlier Roman poetry, *intervallo A*. 5.320 of Lucretius, and *A*. 8.679 (= *A*. 3.12) *et magnis dis* of Ennius (see the note there; this is the only example in Virgil of a spondeiazon which does not end with a word of three or more syllables). See further the notes on *Argileti* 345 and *intertextam* 167, and Norden 438-46 for detailed statistics.

55 **bellum assidue ducunt**: 'continuously *prolong* war'; *ducere* and *trahere* are common in this sense in the historians, cf. *TLL* 2, 1834 ff. *s.v. bellum*.

55 Evander might have been thought to be an ally of Turnus, since both were of Greek descent, and it is important that Tiberinus should let Aeneas know that he is on the contrary a potential ally also at war with the Latins, now led by Turnus (see note on 1). *assidue* is presumably a rhetorical exaggeration, for according to *A*. 7.45 f. Latinus had had a long, peaceful reign finally broken by the arrival of Aeneas and Turnus' hostilities, and Virgil can hardly intend us to understand a reference to Mezentius, an old enemy of the Arcadians (cf. 569 ff.), carrying on raids against Pallanteum under Rutulian *and Latin* protection. According to

Virgil, the tyrannical Mezentius had been expelled by his subject Etruscans who were all prepared for war against Turnus and the Rutuli who were sheltering him. But an oracle (cf. 502 f.) had ordered them to choose a foreign leader: they had approached Evander, who had declined the position but made an alliance with them, as a result of which he was being attacked by the Rutuli (cf. 474).

On Virgil's own method of using the synthesis of legend and history behind this situation, see note on 492 ff.

56 **foedera iunge**: the plainest and most literal prose expression is *sibi (con)iungere socios (dextram) foedere*, and this is the expression used, in its passive form, at *A*. 8.169 and *A*. 10.105. When the verb is active, however, Virgil prefers the variation of the usual prose idiom, *iungere foedera* (as at *A*. 7.546, 8.641, 12.822): this supports the reading *foedera iunge* here, although the presence already of one possible object to the verb, *socios*, emphasises the peculiarity of the variation and suggests the 'facilitation' *foedere* (a variant reading here). A similar *lectio facilior* appears at *A*. 4.112 *miscerive probet populos aut foedera iungi*, for the same reason that an accusative subject of the infinitive occurs already in the line.

57 **ripis et recto flumine**: 'between my banks and straight up the river'. *recto* describes the manner of going, not the river, which was not in fact straight, cf. 95 *longos superant flexus*. Similarly at *A*. 6.900 *recto litore* = 'straight along the shore'; Terence *Ad*. 574 *praeterito hac, recta platea sursum*, 'pass by this way, straight up the street'. This is another case of an adverbial notion being expressed by an adjective (see note on 30), in this case an adjective of *direction* (see Housman's note on Lucan 1.220 for other instances, *obliquus, transversus*, etc.).

57 **et recto**: in the *Aeneid* the fourth foot is predominantly spondaic (there are only 2,873 dactylic fourth feet to 6,940 spondaic according to Winbolt 115), and is said to be so in all Latin hexameter poets (although in the *Metamorphoses* dactylic fourth feet come almost to equal spondaic). It was clearly felt to be a built-in feature of hexameter rhythm that the verse should be slowed down before the expected dactyl of the fifth foot. It is not common, however, for the fourth foot to be a self-contained spondaic word; when this occurs, the preceding word must be a monosyllable (or, exceptionally, a pyrrhic disyllable as at *A*. 8.132) so that the verse can have a main caesura, and this monosyllable is most often proclitic, intimately connected with the spondaic word. Of the twenty-four self-contained spondaic fourth feet in *A*. 8, thirteen are preceded by a conjunction (*et, ut, sed, ni*), two (82, 697) by a preposition (*cum, a*). The comparatively small number of times that a monosyllable or pyrrhic disyllable was naturally available to precede a spondaic word in the fourth foot is enough to account for the latter's rarity; when such a word was available, a self-contained spondee could be admitted with no extra special effect.

58 A remarkable line, for its rhythm (predominantly spondaic and 'heterodyned', i.e. with clash of word-accent and metrical stress until the last two feet), its alliteration (of *s* and *m*), the enclosing pattern of adjective

and noun (*adversum...amnem*) (see note on 32), and the conjunction *ut* postponed to the fifth place (see note on 22).

58 **adversum...amnem**: 'the down-stream current'.

subvectus: *subvehi* is the regular word for sailing or rowing against the stream, cf. esp. Livy 24.40.2 *legati...venerunt...nuntiantes Philippum primum Apolloniam temptasse, lembis biremibus centum viginti flumine adverso subvectum*, and Caesar *B.G.* 1.16.3.

59 **surg(e) age,**: the energy and decisiveness of an imperative, perhaps more than its metrical form, associate it with a stopped first-foot dactyl (see the note on 87 *leniit*): in *A*. 8 compare *egreder(e), o...adloquer(e), ac* (very light pauses) 122-3, *quare agit(e), o* 273, *ingreder(e), o* 513.

59 **primisque cadentibus astris**: the general use of *primus* to convey an adverbial notion is discussed in the note on 30 *seram...quietem*. But when it is so used, it sometimes has a special nuance of meaning, pointed out by Housman on Manilius 5.226: '*adiectivum primus pro adverbio actionem circumscribente pauci interdum sic ponunt ut primus rem aliquam facere pative dicatur qui eam vel facere vel pati incipit*'. He paraphrases this present phrase by '*astris cadere incipientibus*', and cites as other illustrations of this idiom *A*. 11.573 f. *utque pedum primis infans vestigia plantis / institerat* (which clearly cannot mean 'on her first feet', but 'on her feet which she was using for the first time'); *A*. 6.810 f. *primam qui legibus urbem / fundabit* (sc. *Numa*) (which must mean 'he will establish the city with laws which it did not have before his time'). So the phrase here means '*as soon as* the stars *begin* to set'.

But this raises another problem: *cadere* used of heavenly bodies regularly means 'to set, sink below the horizon', cf., for example, *A*. 4.480 *Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem*, and is quite intelligible in connection with the sun, moon, or a specific star or constellation; but with 'stars' in general it is not clear, because *some* stars can be seen to sink below the horizon as soon as they can be seen at all, i.e. at dusk. Poetic language cannot of course be pressed too far for prosaic precision, but Virgil has transferred a precise term to an imprecise context, and used *cadere* as if stars collectively rose, passed their zenith and set. Night also is regarded in the same way at *A*. 2.8 f. *et iam nox umida caelo / praecipitat suadentque cadentia sidera somnos*, which means that the night and the stars are falling from their metaphorical zenith towards setting, i.e. it is well past midnight.

With the phrase here cf. *A*. 4.81, *G*. 1.439 f. *solem certissima signa sequentur, / et quae mane refert et quae surgentibus astris*, and Propertius 4.4.63 f. *et iam quarta canit venturam bucina lucem, / ipsaque in Oceanum sidera lapsa cadunt*.

59 Aeneas does not in fact include Juno in his prayer 'at the first sign of dawn' (71 ff.) as Tiberinus instructs, but no doubt prays to her during the sacrifice of the white sow (84 f.), which seems to have taken place well after dawn.

Virgil is not at pains to make explicit the chronology of events between the Tiber-vision and Aeneas' arrival at Pallanteum. The probable sequence seems to be: night (26 ff.); dawn (68 ff.); prayer (71 ff.); equipping of the

two biremes (79 f.); beginning of journey (not explicitly mentioned but implied by *inceptum* 90); appearance of the sow and sacrifice (81 ff.); night (86, *ea...nocte*); resumption of journey (90 ff.) (presumably during the aforementioned night); continuation of journey during that same night and part of the following day (94, *noctemque diemque*); arrival at the site of Rome after midday (97 ff.). Total length of journey: one and a half days.

This has been the generally accepted view of the time-sequence from Servius (on 97) to Heinze (342 and 386 ff.) and Cartault (640). It rests on the assumption that *noctemque diemque* 94 do actually refer to the night and day following the sacrifice, and are not a vaguely emphatic cliché for 'a long time'; and that *nocte* 86 refers to the same night as 94, or if not, to the immediately preceding one when the Tiber-vision appeared. (If 26, 86, 94 refer to three successive nights, the journey must have taken two and a half days, which is rather excessive for rowing 30 odd kilometres, even allowing for interruptions.)

Mackail's attempt (*CR* 32 (1918), 103 f.) to accommodate the chronology of the passage to his personal experience of rowing over the same course *downstream* in about five hours is not acceptable, because it involves ignoring *inceptum* 90, taking *spectans orientia solis / lumina* 68 f. purely as an indication of direction and not of time, and referring *noctem* 94 to the actual night of the Tiber-vision. But this view is astonishingly repeated by Knauer 249 n. 3 and Binder 39.

It is important to remember what Virgil has passed over in silence: the sacrifice may well have taken the major part of a day (cf., for example, Homer, *Od.* 9.556 ff.), not only to comply with ritual but also to allow time for feasting (an important matter if, like the Trojans here, one is living off the land). The equipping of the biremes may also have taken some time.

See G. E. Duckworth, *AJPh* 49 (1938), 135 n. 2, for references to other dissentients from the one-and-a-half days view, and add W. A. Camps, *PCPhS* 185 (1959), 22.

No disagreement is possible about the chronology of the rest of the book: 103-368 afternoon and evening; 369-453 night; 454-731 morning colloquy and departure to Caere later the same day.

60 f. The same advice was previously given by Helenus at *A.* 3.437 ff.; the Trojans must repeatedly try to win over the implacable Juno. Virgil makes of her a very important and complex symbol. For although she has familiar associations in terms of Roman religion (function as *pronuba* *A.* 4.166; cult-centres at Ardea *A.* 7.419, and Gabii *A.* 7.682 f.), and in terms of Greco-Roman mythology (the judgment of Paris, etc., *A.* 1.27 f.), she appears first and foremost as the opponent of the destined future (and so always at odds with Jupiter her husband), and the disrupter of rational progress (Turnus and her other instruments are dominated by *furor*). These most important aspects were built on comparatively slender foundations: folk-mythology probably credited the queen-consort of the gods with obstructive conservatism (Fricka in Nordic myth is a close parallel); the stories of Io and Hercules Furens already suggested that

madness was her weapon against her victims. Virgil also innovated in equating Juno with the Carthaginian goddess Tanit and making her the champion of Carthage (cf. *A.* 1.15 f.), for the statements of Macrobius *Sat.* 3.9.7 f., that the Romans used the formula of *evocatio* to call out the protecting deity of Carthage, and of Servius on *A.* 12.841, that Juno was so called out in the Second Punic War and subsequently transferred to Rome by Scipio, cannot be regarded as historical, nor can any reason for inventing the fiction be found until long after the Augustan period.

60 The variant *irasque*, though unobjectionable both in meaning, 'bursts of anger' (cf. *A.* 8.40) and in the homoeoteleuton it produces with *minasque*, has too little MS authority to be acceptable.

61 Tiberinus' intention was *demere curas* (35) (cf. the note on 41 *concessere*); the prophecy of ultimate success (*victor* here), and the following assurance that it is divinely inspired crowns his purpose.

61 **honorem**: sacrifice and worship, as generally in this book (76, 102, 189, 268, but not 339, 617).

62 ff. **ego sum...Thybris**: a river-god and *therefore* gifted with prophetic powers, cf. the Clitumnus in Pliny *Epp.* 8.8 (quoted in the note on 74 ff.). The same is true of sea-gods, e.g. Proteus, *G.* 4.391 ff., Nereus in Hor. *Odes* 1.15. Water competed with wood in the primitive mind as the elemental abode of divine oracular power; see further the notes on 348 ff. and 336 ff.

62 **pleno...flumine**: a dignified description and a claim to honour, irrigation being a benefit; but see the note on 86 for the other side of the picture—the danger of flooding.

63 For the 'framing' of the line by two participles, see the Appendix, p. 200.

64 **caeruleus** is surprising, as Page points out, because *flavus* is a constant epithet of the Tiber (cf. *A.* 7.31, 9.816; Ovid *Met.* 14.448; Hor. *Odes* 1.2.13); Dryden actually translates this line 'The God am I, whose *yellow* water flows'. *caeruleus* is the standing epithet for *sea*-gods (e.g. Proteus, *G.* 4.388; and cf. *A.* 3.432 *Scyllam et caeruleis canibus resonantia saxa*), and it is possible that Virgil chose it here because Aeneas is in fact near the sea (cf. *A.* 7.35 f.); the same adjective is used at 713 of the Nile delta, where *caeruleum gremium* and *latebrosa flumina* are 'theme and variation'. But it is more likely that Virgil was attracted by the sound-echo between *caelo* and its derivative *caerul(e)us* (originally *caelulus*); word-play is the obvious point of Ennius' *caeli caerula templa* (*Ann.* 49 V), imitated by Lucretius 1.1090 *per caeli caerula*.

caerul(e)us originally = 'sky-like', hence the wide range of actual colours it could connote; the only certain quality of water which reflects the changing colours of the sky is clearness.

For the adjective applied to rivers, cf. Tibullus 1.7.12-14, of the Loire and the Cydnus.

64 **caelo gratissimus amnis** recalls διίφιλος (or θεοφιλής); cf. *A.* 12.142 (Juno to Juturna) *nympha, decus fluviorum, animo gratissima nostro.* Tiberinus hints at the power he has through Jupiter's favour (*caelum* =

*Die*spiter), implying that his words deserve extra credence because his authority is backed by a higher power, and perhaps that the majesty of his river depends on constant rain-water supplied from, and by the favour of, heaven. Cf. Homer's description of the Nile (*Od.* 4.477): *Αἰγύπτοιο διιπετέος ποταμοῖο*, where, as Stanford points out, 'falling by ordinance of Zeus' properly refers to the rain not the river.

65 **hic mihi magna domus celsis caput urbibus exit**: so it would appear, with no punctuation, in the earliest and best MSS. At first sight a puzzling line because of its ambiguities: what is the case and function of *celsis...urbibus*, and is it a true or a poetic plural? Does *caput* mean 'a capital city', or 'the source or upper part of a stream' (cf. *Digest* 43.20 *caput est unde aqua nascitur*), or 'the lower part of a stream' (= *os*, as at, for example, Caesar *B.G.* 4.10.5)?

Servius and Tiberius Donatus instinctively saw that the natural interpretation of the line is 'here is my great home; the upper part of my stream flows from among lofty cities' (the two halves of the line are antithetical, and should be separated by a semi-colon after *domus*). This is certainly correct: (1) *exit* is echoed by *exis* 75, where the *source* of the river is specifically mentioned; (2) *caput* = 'source' at *G.* 4.368 in a context with many similar river-associations to those in *A.* 8; (3) *celsis...urbibus* refers to the Etruscan hill-fortresses on the Apennines, like Arezzo and Perugia, whose sites suit exactly with a literal meaning of *celsis*; (4) the Tiber is constantly 'Etruscan' (*Tuscus G.* 1.499, *A.* 8.473; *Tyrrhenus A.* 7.242; *Lydius A.* 2.781), and Virgil is here attempting a periphrasis for the idea commonly expressed by *advena Thybris* (at, for example, Ovid *Fasti* 3.524), 'the Tiber which comes to us Romans as a stranger from a foreign land'; cf. also Ovid *Met.* 15.432 (*Roma*) *Appenninigenae quae proxima Thybridis undis.*

Scholars have ignored or undervalued Servius' note to their cost. Some, failing to see the antithesis in the line, have supposed that *caput* is in apposition with *domus*, and have consequently been faced with the unreal problem of making sense of *domus exit.* So Heyne tried to extract the meaning 'here will come into being my great home, the capital of towering cities', and Warde Fowler (*CR* 30 (1916), 219 ff.; *ASR* 37 ff.): 'here my great home (the whole Tiber basin), which is the source (of life and power) to lofty cities, flows to the sea'. Bentley's reputation can hardly profit from his suggestion *Tuscis caput amnibus*, which is as violent as it is unnecessary. Havet, *RPh* 35 (1911), 5 ff., favouring the apposition of *domus* and *caput* as the *interpretatio difficilior*, and changing *exit* to *escit* = *erit* (already proposed by Faber on Lucr. 2.1145, but an improbable archaism for Virgil), took the line to mean that the *temple* of the Tiber-god (at Ostia) will be the centre of a confederation (*urbibus*; but *celsis* is unadaptable). Mackail, *CR* 29 (1915), 227, finding it impossible to make sense of the verse as it stands, applied his favourite remedy: 'rhythm, no less than sense, calls for another line to complete the period'.

The MS variant *certa* for *magna* derives from a recollection of line 39.

65 **hic mihi magna domus**: *hic* may have a quite specific reference if

(as suggested by W. H. Semple, *CR* 50 (1936), 112) Virgil is thinking of the 'Halls of Tiber' mentioned by Ovid *Fasti* 4.329 f. *fluminis ad flexum veniunt* (*Tiberina priores / atria dixerunt*), *unde sinister abit*. This was at the first bend of any significance which would be met by vessels coming upstream from the sea (it was almost a hairpin bend and some distance beyond Ostia before the Tiber changed its course in the floods of 1557: see the map in Tilly 6). Aeneas' ships had already gone some way up the river (*A*. 7.36), and the site of the first camp (*A*. 7.157 ff.) may possibly have been at this bend (but not for the reasons given by Carcopino 523 ff.; T. Frank locates it at Ostia, *AJP* 45 (1924), 64 f.; see further R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Oxford, 1960), 483 ff.).

There is then a strong antithesis between 'my home here at this particular spot' and the 'source' far away (not far from the coast on the other side of the peninsula), which is preferable to taking *hic* as vaguely = 'this land of Hesperia'.

Ovid (*Amores* 3.6.89 ff.) remembered the passage to curse the unTiber-like torrent which barred his way to his mistress: *quid si legitimum flueres, si nobile flumen, / si tibi per terras maxima fama foret? / nomen habes nullum, rivis collecte caducis, / nec tibi sunt fontes nec tibi certa domus.*

Ovid too (*Met*. 1.568 ff.) locates the *domus* of the Peneus in the wooded ravine of Tempe—not so far from its mouth: 574 ff. *haec domus, haec sedes, haec sunt penetralia magni / amnis; in his, residens facto de cautibus antro, / undis iura dabat nymphisque colentibus undas*; contrast Statius *Th*. 4.831 ff. cited on 74 f.

65 At *A*. 10.198 ff. Virgil links Mantua, the nearest large town to his birthplace Andes, and the Tiber in a typical piece of invented 'heroic' genealogy: *Ille etiam patriis agmen ciet Ocnus ab oris, / fatidicae Mantus et Tusci filius amnis, / qui muros matrisque dedit tibi, Mantua, nomen.* It must be remembered that Etruscan power not only extended on both sides of the Apennines (cf. Livy 5.33.9 *in utrumque mare vergentes incoluere urbibus duodenis terras*), but was also paramount in Cisalpine Gaul before the Etruscans were driven out by the Gauls (cf. Polybius 2.17): many traces of them still remained there, especially at Mantua, of which Virgil himself says (*A*. 10.203) *ipsa caput populis, Tusco de sanguine vires*; (cf. Pliny *N.H.* 3.(19).130 *Mantua Tuscorum trans Padum sola reliqua*).

Mary L. Gordon, 'The Family of Virgil', (*JRS* 24 (1934), 1 ff.), arguing from the probable etymology and derivation of the poet's names and their recorded occurrences over the Italian peninsula—*Vergilius* is considerably more common in Etruria than elsewhere—has made a good case for believing that Virgil was actually of Etruscan origin. On a question of this kind certainty is of course impossible (Etruscan origin is accepted tentatively by, for example, Chilver, *Cisalpine Gaul* (Oxford, 1941), 215 f., denied by, for example, Tenney Frank, *Vergil* (Oxford, 1922), 4 f.). There can however be no question of Virgil's keen interest in Etruscan history and culture (cf. J. W. Mackail, 'Virgil and Roman Studies', *JRS* 3 (1913), 5 ff.), or of his appreciation of the wide area of their influence in northern Italy (*A*. 10.198 ff.), or even of their transmission of Greek culture (cf. *A*.

10.719 f. *venerat antiquis Corythi* (Cortona?) *de finibus Acron, / Graius homo.*). He quite probably knew that it was the Etruscans who had transmitted what was, from his point of view, the most important legacy of Greek culture, the Aeneas-legend itself. This was established in Etruria by the end of the sixth century B.C.: cf. especially the terracotta statuette of Aeneas carrying Anchises, from Veii (Scullard, Plate 117), and cf. Alföldi 278 ff.

66-80 *The river-god disappears into the depths of the stream. Dawn breaks, Aeneas awakes and prays to Tiberinus, promising sacrifice and asking for confirmation of the vision. He then equips two biremes and arms his companions for the journey.*

66 **dixit**: for the initial spondaic word and pause, see the note on 71.

deinde: scanned as a trochee here and at 481 by synizesis (*dĕīndĕ* > *dēindĕ*); see the notes on 292 *Eurystheō* and 372 *aureō*.

lacu: see the note on 74.

67 **nox Aenean somnusque reliquit**: Heyne compares *Il.* 2.71 *ἐμὲ δὲ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἀνῆκεν*, and Conington Ap. Rh. 3.632 *τὴν δ' ὕπνος. . .μεθέηκεν.* In these expressions the sleeper is thought of as passively in the grip of an external force: *Ὕπνος* and Somnus are often personified as supernatural powers.

68 f. **aetherii spectans orientia solis / lumina**: Aeneas faces east where the sun is just rising, a usual Greco-Roman practice in making prayers (at *A.* 12.172 ff. Aeneas, Latinus and their company face the rising sun, which is the first deity Aeneas invokes in prayer, at the making of the treaty, and the Argonauts are ordered *Phoebi surgentis ad orbem / ferre manus* in prayer when being purified from the plague in Valerius Flaccus 3.437 f.; and cf. Soph. *O.C.* 477 (*χρὴ*) *χοὰς χέασθαι στάντα πρὸς πρώτην ἕω*, because the rising sun was regarded as an omen of success.)

69 f. Before praying, Aeneas takes up the river water ('live' and flowing) in the palms of his hands. It was of course common practice before prayer and/or sacrifice to wash, or at least to touch water, and so to purify oneself symbolically, merely as a precaution against the possibility of being 'unclean' (cf. esp. Hesiod *W.D.* 724 ff.). Aeneas has already formed the intention of journeying by river; washing the hands and praying to the river were a preliminary obligation (Hesiod *W.D.* 737-41). In a wider context, it was usual practice for travellers arriving in a strange land to try and win over the gods of the locality by prayer and sacrifice; arrival by boat at a river estuary naturally directed the traveller's attention to the river(-god), as here and at Ap. Rh. 2.1271 ff. (Jason after anchoring in the Phasis).

The situation here is made more complicated by following a dream. Sleep itself was thought to cause pollution, dreams even more; and as dreams usually necessitated prayer on waking, the sequence dream: purification by water: prayer was very common. (One or more links in the chain find illustration at Homer *Od.* 12.335 ff.; Aesch. *Pers.* 200 ff.; Soph. *El.* 424 f.;

Ar. *Ra.* 1338 ff.; Plautus *Aul.* 612; Virgil *A.* 4.635 ff.; Tibullus 2.1.14 ff.; Propertius 3.10.13; Persius 2.15 f.)

The particular import of a dream and its psychological effect on the dreamer are irrelevant to the sequence of events; whether the dream bodes good or ill, the purpose of the water is to wash away the contact, conceived as physical, with the supernatural, *all* dreams and visions being uncanny and taboo.

The situation here, where Aeneas dreams of, purifies himself with water from, and then prays to the Tiber, is full of coincidence (which has misled some interpreters, see below), but its basic ideas are the same as those at the beginning of *A.* 9, where after a day-vision of Iris, Turnus purifies himself with water from a river (unnamed), and then prays to the gods (unspecified) (*A.* 9.22 ff.).

Other views which have been taken of the passage are quite unconvincing. The taking up of the water is certainly not an act of hygiene (in any case the Romans did not habitually wash after rising, see Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (1956), 159). It is most unlikely that we have here an unparalleled example of water as the material of sacrifice (so Warde Fowler, *ASR* 42 f.); the water which was offered to the spring of the Camenae (Varro cited by Servius *auctus* on *E.* 7.21) and of Juturna (Servius *auctus* on *A.* 12.139) was not a sacrifice in the usual sense but a survival of an act of homoeopathic magic. The view that Aeneas' action is simply an instance of a racial habit, very evident in ritual, to touch whatever was in question (R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought*² (1954), 129 and note 7), is superficially plausible, but does not explain the clearly parallel situation in *A.* 9.

70 **sustinet**: the MS variant *sustulit* derives from *A.* 9.17 or a similar passage.

71 **nymphae**: Virgil was not fond of beginning a verse with a self-contained spondaic word (for reasons given in the note on *nulli* 502), and much less fond of entrenching it in front of a sense-pause; there are only four or five examples of this latter phenomenon in *A.* 8: *dixit* 66 (Tiberinus has finished his speech with an awe-inspiring declaration of his godhead), *nymphae* here (in a solemn invocation), *salve* 301 (another solemn invocation—to Hercules), *stravi* 562 (with a very slight pause: Evander's complete flattening of the battle-line). A very slight pause may also follow *stabant* 641.

71 **nymphae...nymphae**: repetition of a word is common in contexts of heightened feeling (here in a fervent prayer); cf. the pathos in *hic tibi mortis erant metae, domus alta sub Ida, / Lyrnesi domus alta, solo Laurente sepulcrum* (*A.* 12.546 f.). But here there is also an echo of the ritual repetition of prayer (cf. 84 f. and note).

Repetitions of a word-*group*, as in the example from *A.* 12 above (there is no instance in *A.* 8), are a self-conscious elegance of poetic style, fostered by the Alexandrians; there are very few instances indeed in the *Iliad* (see Leaf and Bayfield on *Il.* 22.128).

71 **nymphae, genus amnibus unde est**: i.e. *nymphae unde genus est*

amnibus, 'nymphs from whom the streams take their birth' (*unde = e quibus*; *amnibus*, dative); *not* 'whose birth is of the rivers', although that is an equally common idea.

71 **unde**: as in Greek, an adverbial relative, *ubi, unde, quo*, is often used instead of an adjectival relative with a preposition; this occurs most usually in a connection indicating *place*; *unde* is used of persons by Virgil at *A*. 5.123 and 568, 6.766.

71 **unde est**: colourless monosyllables rarely end a verse in Virgil as they do in Lucretius, because they cannot bear the emphasis of that position in the Virgilian hexameter. But here *est* is virtually enclitic on *unde*, which is itself emphasised by being delayed in word-order.

72 Ennius *Ann*. 54 V *Teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto*: the line may have been spoken by Ilia (Vahlen), Aeneas (Norden), or even Horatius Cocles (E. H. Warmington), but it is at least clear from the *-que* that the speaker had just named (an)other god(s), as Aeneas does here. Virgil substitutes:

(1) for *Tiberine*, the correct ritual form (see the note on 31), *Thybri*, the Greco-Etruscan form (Θύ(μ)βρις, Thebris) which makes its first Latinised appearance in Virgil's poetry: perhaps he already had in mind the eponymous hero Thybris of 330 f., or the Greekness of the preceding line (nymphae ~ νύμφαι, genus ~ γένος), or considerations of metre, or the general preference of poetry for *Thybris* because of the pleasant-sounding Greek vowel υ (see Wilkinson 11 f.);

(2) for *pater*, *genitor*: a change probably suggested by *genus* in the line before, and here therefore including the notion of parenthood. But *pater* (*genitor*) and *mater* do not necessarily contain any such notion: a bachelor could be a *pater*(*familias*) and a virgin goddess addressed as *mater*; originally the words referred to status, authority and dignity and they never lost some of this meaning; a full discussion can be found in Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique* Book 2, ch. 8, and his view is supported (against Frazer) by Warde Fowler, *RE* 155 ff. Applied to gods, *pater* occurs in the earliest prayer-formulae (although curiously not in Servius' citation of *adesto, Tiberine, cum tuis undis* on this line): cf. Livy 2.10.11 *Tum Cocles 'Tiberine pater' inquit, 'te sancte precor'*; 5.52.7 *quid de ancilibus vestris, Mars Gradive tuque, Quirine pater?*; 8.9.6 (the formula of Decius' *devotio*) '*Iane, Iuppiter, Mars pater, Quirine*...'. Similarly, patriarchal dignity, not parenthood, is implied by *pater Aeneas*.

72 **tuqu(e), o Thybri**: Virgil's recasting of Ennius' line (see the preceding note), entails a pause after the first long syllable of the line: pauses at this position in the *Aeneid* are not very common, and are always light: in *A*. 8, cf. 236, 364, 480, and perhaps 579.

73 **periclis**: syncope, the shortening of a word through the loss of a middle vowel (always *e*, *i* or *u*), is regularly found in the oblique cases of a few words which would not otherwise be usable in hexameter verse: *dext*(*e*)*ra*, *peric*(*u*)*lum*, *vinc*(*u*)*lum*, *saec*(*u*)*lum* are all so used in this book. (The nom. and acc. plurals *pericula*, *vincula*, *saecula* are of course suitable for dactylic verse and so predominate markedly over their shorter alter-

natives: see Wetmore's *Index ss.vv.*) The syncopated forms were taken from Ennius by the Augustan poets and used too widely for any specifically archaic flavour to remain.

74 ff. 'At whatever spring the well-pool houses you as you pity our misfortunes, from whatever piece of ground you flow out in all your beauty, you shall always be celebrated with my worship and offerings...' There was a shrine to the Tiber-god on the *insula Tiberina*, but the reference here is clearly to the river's most important source or *fons* (cf. *caput*, 65) (in the Apennines, visible from San Marino). All springs and sources were sacred and could be worshipped, especially at the festival of the Fontinalia on October 13th, with garlands of flowers, libations and animal sacrifice; occasionally shrines were built at or near them.

The best commentary on the situation here is the poetically written letter of Pliny the Younger (*Epp.* 8.8) on the source-spring of the Clitumnus (which rises near Spoleto and flows eventually into the Tiber itself): (5 ff.) *adiacet templum priscum et religiosum. stat Clitumnus ipse amictus ornatusque praetexta* (but the upright stance and scarlet-bordered toga must have made him look more like a magistrate or priest than a river-god—perhaps some unconventional local influence was at work)*; praesens numen atque etiam fatidicum indicant sortes* (strips of some material, each inscribed with a message, would be shaken in an urn by the priest, and whichever fell out would be the god's answer to the worshipper). *sparsa sunt circa sacella complura, totidemque di. sua cuique veneratio suum nomen, quibusdam vero etiam fontes. nam praeter illum quasi parentem ceterorum sunt minores capite discreti...leges multa multorum omnibus columnis, omnibus parietibus inscripta, quibus fons ille deusque celebratur* (records of *ex voto* dedications).

74 f. **quo...cumque...fonte...quocumque solo**: the phraseology is strongly reminiscent of the ritual *quicumque es* used in addressing an unknown god; Aeneas here does know the identity of Tiberinus but not his *fons et origo*; compare, in their contexts, *quaecumque A.* 1.330, *quisquis es A.* 4.577, *quisquis A.* 9.22; these are literary echoes of the formula which showed the very real anxiety of primitive Romans to address the divinity worshipped correctly: even Jupiter was addressed by the pontifices as '*Iuppiter optime maxime, sive quo alio nomine te appellari volueris*' (Servius on *A.* 2.351). See further Warde Fowler, *RE* 120 and C. J. Fordyce, *Catullus* 34.21 f. The same scruple and formula is Greek, cf. Ζεὺς ὅστις πότ' ἐστιν Aesch. *Ag.* 160 f., and especially ὅτις ἐσσί Homer *Od.* 5.445, Odysseus' prayer to the river-god of Phaeacia, the passage Virgil had in mind for the miracle of stopping the flow of the stream (see the note on 86-9).

74 f. are 'theme and variation', suitable to ritual repetition, and referring to *the* source of the Tiber as yet unknown to Aeneas, where the spring (*fonte*) bursts through the ground (*solo*) from the subterranean pool (*lacus*). Madvig's suggestion *qui...locus* (*Adversaria Critica* 2 (1873), 39) misunderstands *lacus*, and misses the point. The MS reading is further supported by the closely parallel passage at Statius *Th.* 4.831 ff. *tuque o*

cunctis insuete domari / solibus, aeternae largitor corniger undae, / laetus eas, quacumque domo gelida ora resolvis / immortale tumens, and at Ausonius *Mosella* 469 ff. *Corniger externas celebrande Mosella per oras, / nec solis celebrande locis, ubi fonte supremo / exeris auratum taurinae frontis honorem.* (*lacus might* be plural, but in view of *lacu* in 66, the singular is preferable here too, and the variant *tenent* in 75 probably arose from a simple dittography *ten-en-t.*)

74 **lacus** is here correctly explained by Servius as the subterranean pool from which a spring of water rises; by extension it means simply 'pool', in 66 one which is part of a larger stretch of water. Originally the word meant any deep cavity or trough, and so came to be applied to wine and oil vats, and water-troughs (as at *A.* 8.451).

77 **Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum**: Virgil seems to have had Ennius in mind, *Ann.* 67 V *Postquam consistit* (? *constituit sese*) *fluvius qui est omnibus princeps*, which has plausibly been referred to the Tiber causing its floods to subside at Jupiter's command in order to deposit the twins Romulus and Remus on dry land (comparable with the situation here, where the Tiber checks its own down-current). This fragment is cited by Fronto *Orat.* 160 Naber = 153 van den Hout, in connection with what may be a saying of Marcus Aurelius '*Tiber amnis et dominus et fluentium circa regnator undarum*' (cf. *CIL* 6.1.773, a dedication at Rome of Diocletian and Maximian, after cleansing the water-channels, *Tiberino patri aquarum omnium*). Virgil is echoing national pride in the river of the ruling city: elsewhere, thinking primarily of physical size, he calls the Po *fluviorum rex Eridanus* (*G.* 1.482), *Eridanus, quo non alius per pinguia culta / in mare purpureum violentior effluit amnis* (*G.* 4.372 f.) (note the echo of *pinguia culta*, referred to the Tiber, at *A.* 8.63).

77 **corniger**: rivers likened to bulls are a commonplace of Greek and Latin literature, cf., for example, Eur. *Ion* 1261 ὦ ταυρόμορφον ὄμμα Κηφισοῦ πατρός, and the citations in 74 f. above. On Horace *Odes* 4.14.25 *sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus* Porphyrion remarks: *omnium fluminum genii taurino vultu etiam cum cornibus pinguntur propter impetus et fremitus ipsarum aquarum* (cf. *G.* 4.371 f. *et gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu / Eridanus*). This is also Servius' first explanation in his note here, and no doubt represents the basic idea of the image: at *Il.* 21.237 the Xanthus is described as μεμυκὼς ἠΰτε ταῦρος. The Achelous is conceived as horned at Ovid *Amores* 3.6.35 f. *cornua si tua nunc ubi sint, Acheloe, requiram, / Herculis irata fracta querere manu*, and the Inachus so represented at Statius *Th.* 2.217 f. *pater ipse bicornis / in laevum prona nixus sedet Inachus urna* where the images of the ancestors of the royal house of Argos, with Inachus first, are carried in procession.

The image was extended to liken the channels or delta of a river to the horns of a bull: this is the point of *Rhenusque bicornis* at 727, and of Ovid *Met.* 9.774 *septem digestum in cornua Nilum*. And from, for example, Valerius Flaccus 8.185 ff. *haud procul hinc ingens Scythici ruit exitus Histri, / fundere non uno tantum quem flumina cornu / accipimus* it is clear how this interpretation led to the picturing in art of river-gods holding a horn.

77 **fluvius**: Latin has a separate form for the vocative (i.e. different from the nominative) only for the singular of second declension nouns in *-us* and *-ius*; but this form, common and standardised in the classical language, seems to have come into existence late and to have had a rather precarious life afterwards. The nominative itself, whose basic function is to concentrate attention on the temporary centre of interest, can be (and in the other declensions is) quite appropriately used to convey exclamations, often in the form of an address to someone or something. Moreover some second declension nouns in *-us* either never acquired a vocative (like *deus*), or only acquired one late (the form *popule* does not occur before Quintilian *Decl.* 302 (Ritter) p. 192, 3), or could not acquire one which sounded euphonic (e.g. *fluvius*). The tendency of grammarians from Servius (on this passage) to Page, with the standardised vocative in *-e* and *-i* as their model, has been to regard forms in *-us* which are exclamatory as 'archaic vocatives'; it is better to regard them as nominatives of exclamation, becoming rare and old-fashioned by the late Republic. (The classic example of an 'archaic vocative', in Livy's admittedly archaising formula (1.24.7) *audi, inquit, Iuppiter, audi pater patrate populi Albani, audi tu, populus Albanus*, is now explained as an appositional nominative; see *LHSz* 2, 74).

78 'Only be near and confirm your divine will closer at hand.' Virgil was alive to the wide area of meaning covered by *numen*, from its primary etymological sense (from *nuo*, 'nod'), meaning 'nod (of assent), decision, declaration of will', to its secondary concrete sense (perhaps influenced by late Greek πνεῦμα, 'spirit, superhuman being') meaning 'a deity (invested with authority)'; here and at, for example, 574 the primary sense prevails. **numina firmes** here means virtually the same as *omina firma* at *A*. 2.691: in both passages an apparently significant omen or portent has occurred (the flame on Ascanius' head in *A*. 2) spontaneously: in the technical language of augury an *augurium* or *auspicium oblativum*. A further sign is then requested (*augurium impetrativum*) to confirm the first, if the witness regards what has 'cropped up' as significant—he is at liberty to ignore it if he wishes (Servius on *A*. 12.260). The same meaning lies behind the typically varied phraseology of *A*. 10.254 f. *tu rite propinques / augurium*. The genuineness of the Tiber-vision is immediately confirmed by the sow, the predicted portent (*mirabile monstrum* 81).

prop-ius and *propr-ius* are frequently confused in the MSS, as here; the context usually makes the choice easy (cf. 280, 556); *proprius* here, although recognised by Servius, would be strained in the sense 'as our own individual protector' compared with the natural sense of *propius*. As at *A*. 1.526 the concept of nearness in *propius* is passing into one of participation and help: see *N-H* on *praesens*, Hor. *Odes* 1.35.2; as Wölfflin points out, *ALL* 12 (1902), 421, *propior* was made to do duty for the non-existent comparative of *propitius*, on the analogy of *ferus / ferocior, fidus / fidelior*.

78 **adsis...firmes**: note the 'framed' line (see Appendix, p. 200). The number of instances of two *finite verbs* so 'framing' a static line whose

sense-unit is complete in itself is remarkable, as also is the number of times when such a line concludes a speech (as here) or a section of the narrative (as at 165, 218, 250, 491, 507, 559, 591, 607). This may be as important a guide to paragraphing as homodyned fourth feet (see Appendix, p. 197).

79 **biremis**: ships with two (or three) banks of oars were not known to the Homeric Age of Aeneas and his contemporaries. This is one of many material details which, strictly speaking, are anachronistic. Virgil's intention, it seems, is to minimise unfamiliar material details which might hamper his reader's sense of involvement in the contemporary significance of the *Aeneid*. See F. H. Sandbach *PVS* 5 (1965-6), 26 ff.

80 = *A*. 3.471 *remigium supplet, socios simul instruit armis.*

81-101 *Suddenly the white sow is sighted on the river-bank, and Aeneas sacrifices her and her litter to Juno. The Tiber-god stays the current of the stream, and Aeneas' ships glide effortlessly upstream along the wooded banks until, just after mid-day, they reach Evander's scattered settlement and put in to shore.*

81-3 Notice how the excitement and suspense build up until the sense is completed by the main statement *conspicitur sus* right at the end. See the note on 43 for the monosyllabic ending.

82 **candida per silvam**: 'gleaming white through the wood'; the distinction between *candidus* 'shining white' and *albus*, 'mat white' (so Servius on *G*. 3.82), is not excluded here by *concolor*.

82 **silvam**: *nemus* 92; *arboribus...silvas* 96; *luco* 104, 125: Virgil envisages the Tiber banks (and the whole of Latium, see Rehm 70) as covered with dense primeval forest; much of it had been cleared for pasture-land when Pliny had his Laurentian villa (*Epp*. 2.17.3), and very little remains today.

82 **concolor**: the majority of neologisms in Virgil are compound adjectives (for nouns see on 89 *luctamen*, for verbs 404 *indubitare* and 677 *effulgere*), and these are not conspicuously numerous. Plautine comedy and the mime (Pomponius, Laberius, Novius) had revelled in inventing new compounds, often designed for comic effect; Pacuvius and Accius in their translations of Greek tragedy had tried to emulate also the natural Greek facility for compounds. But it was soon evident that Latin could not be treated in the same way with serious purpose, and Horace's taste disliked the resultant bombast and *Schlangenwörter* (*sesquipedalia verba A.P.* 97). The neoterics, notably Catullus in his *Attis*, also bent on naturalising Greek forms, continued the practice, and lent themselves to parody (Petronius *Sat*. 55 (*ciconia*) *pietaticultrix gracilipes crocalistria*). Horace *A.P.* 48 ff. legislated generously for neologisms: they are traditional and natural, he says, and will win acceptance if used sparingly and based on a Greek model; but his own poetic practice in this respect is extremely conservative and unadventurous, and even if he momentarily forgot (*A.P.* 53 ff.) the difference in genre between Plautus and Caecilius on the

one hand and Virgil on the other, Virgil did not, and avoided ostentatious novelties as carefully as Caesar.

In view of the very fragmentary nature of much pre-Virgilian literature, it is very hazardous to say positively that Virgil actually coined any specific word: Servius, with more material at his disposal, made an error in so doing at *A*. 3.221 *caprigenum*.

In *A*. 8 compound adjectives fall into the following categories (those found only once in *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid* are marked with an asterisk):

(I) suffixes:

(1) *-ger*: *corniger** 77, already in Cicero's poetry (*Nat. Deorum* 2.110) and Lucretius (2.368; 3.751); *laniger* 664, cited from Accius by Cicero *Div*. 1.44.

(2) *-fer*: *horrifer** 435, cited by Cicero from Pacuvius (*Or*. 155) and Accius (*T.D.* 1.68), in his own *Aratea* (*Nat. Deorum* 2.111) and in Lucretius, 3.1012; *sagittifer** 725 (Catullus in a lyric, 11.6). These compounds in *-fer* were quite in the spirit of older poetry; hence, first attested in Virgil, *pacifer** 116, *fumifer* 255 (and *A*. 9.522 only), *fatifer* 621 (and *A*. 9.631 only).

(3) *-dicus*: *fatidicus* 340 (and twice elsewhere in *A*.).

(4) *-ficus*: *terrificus* 431 (and twice elsewhere in *A*.), already in Lucretius, 2.632; 5.1315; hence *vulnificus** 446, perhaps not before Virgil.

(5) *-gena*: *Troiugena* 117, *Graiugena* 127, *omnigenus** 698 (anomalous, see the note there): all these and many other formations of the same type occur in Lucretius: hence Virgil's analogous coinage *nubigena* 293 (and *A*. 7.674 only), and *indigena* 314 (and *A*. 12.823 only).

(6) *-potens*: *ignipotens* 414 and often, unattested before Virgil but perhaps taken from Ennius or other archaic poetry (*omnipotens* 334 certainly was).

(7) *-aevus*: *longaevus* 498 is a favourite word of Virgil's (it occurs 14 times in *A*.) but is not traceable before him. As Norden 177 points out, at *A*. 8.498 it is in a very Ennian context, and so was probably already to be found in archaic poetry (*grandaevus* certainly was).

(8) *-color*: *decolor** 326 was perhaps coined by Cicero, *T.D.* 2.20 *decolorem sanguinem*, to translate Soph. *Trach*. 1055 χλωρὸν αἷμα. Virgil himself seems to have coined *bicolor* 276 (and *A*. 5.566 only), and *concolor** 82 (which became a great favourite with Ovid).

(9) *-abilis*: not uncommon in Ciceronian prose and earlier poetry: cf. the 'labyrinth' group *inobservabilis error* Catullus 64.115, *inremeabilis error* *A*. 5.591, *inextricabilis error* *A*. 6.27; hence, apparently first used by Virgil, *ineluctabilis* 334 (and *A*. 2.324 only), and *enarrabilis** 625.

(10) *-ilis*: *indocilis** 321, already in Cicero's philosophical prose (*Nat. Deorum* 1.12; *Ac*. 2.2), promoted by Virgil to epic.

(II) prefixes (multipliers are common in earlier poetry):

(11) *semi-*: *semifer* 267 (and *A*. 10.212 only), already in Cic. *Aratea* 59 and often in Lucretius; hence, for the first time in epic, *semesus* 297 (and *A*. 3.244 only) and *semihomo** 194.

(12) *bi-*: some of these compounds were taken over from earlier poetry, e.g. *bipatens* from Ennius (Servius on *A.* 10.5); and even if they are not attested before Virgil it was an easy extension to coin *bicolor* 276 (and *A.* 5.566 only), and *bicornis* 727 (and *G.* 1.264 only). *biremis* 79 (and *A.* 1.182 only) and *bimembris** 293 (see the note there) seem to have been promoted to epic by Virgil.

(13) *ter-*: *tergeminus* 202 derives from earlier poetry, cf. especially Lucr. 5.28 *tripectora tergemini vis Geryonai.*

(14) *quadri-*: *quadripedans* 596 (and *A.* 11.614 only) occurs already in Ennius' tragic diction (*Sc.* 184 V), and probably also at Accius 603 R^2.

(15) *e(x)-*: *egelidus** 610 and *exsors* 552 are both special cases of adjectives with more than one meaning: see the notes *ad loc.* See (9) above for *enarrabilis.*

(16) *prae-*: *praefulgens** 553 was first promoted to high poetry by Virgil, see the note on *effulgere* 677.

(17) *in-* as a negative prefix: many of these forms naturally occur in prose or verse or both before Virgil: *intractatus** 206, *insperatus* 247, *imperfectus** 428. *inausus* 205 (and *A.* 7.308 only) is a formation along the same lines, which commended itself to Valerius Flaccus, Seneca and Tacitus. *inaccessus* 195 (and *A.* 7.11 only) and *inexpletus** 559 are more startling: see the notes *ad loc.* For *ineluctabilis* and *indocilis* see (9) and (10) above.

Virgil's compound adjectives therefore are homogeneous; those he invented are formed in a quite accepted manner and so take an inconspicuous place among those he inherited; he would evidently have agreed with Quintilian's verdict (1.5.70) *res tota magis Graecos decet, nobis minus succedit.* See further Leumann 150 ff. for a useful survey of *composita* in poetic diction.

84 f. Two lines full of the solemn language of ritual: the repetition of *tibi* is not purely rhetorical, but represents the repetition of the actual name *Iuno* in the prayer which accompanied the sacrifice (cf. the repeated *nymphae* in 71, and the hymnic repetition of *tu, te* at 293 ff.).

enim (*e + nam*) here has its archaic sense of 'indeed, certainly, to be sure'; cf. *A.* 1.19 f. *progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci / audierat,* where Quintilian (9.3.14) comments: *alia commendatio vetustatis, cuius amator unice Vergilius fuit...Quorum similia apud veteres tragicos comicosque sunt plurima. Illud et in consuetudine remansit 'enimvero'.* In Plautus *enim* almost always has this meaning; in Terence the explanatory sense 'for' is gaining the upper hand, and this established itself in classical prose to the virtual exclusion of the earlier meaning. This may explain why Servius failed to appreciate the force of *enim* here (*vacat enim et tantum ad ornatum pertinet*).

Ovid also uses the phrase, *Met.* 15.581 f. '*Rex' ait 'o salve; tibi enim, tibi, Cipe, tuisque / hic locus et Latiae parebunt cornibus arces'*, as does Silius 13. 135 ff.

For other instances of archaic *enim* in Virgil see Norden on *A.* 6.28; R. D. Williams on *A.* 5.395, and cf. *namque A.* 10.614.

84 **pius**: *pietas* is a very wide-embracing word (see the discussion in Bailey *RV* 79 ff.); basically it means a sense of the obligation of right conduct to gods and men (without the puritan overtones of 'duty'), and this central meaning is quite clear in contexts of religious function like sacrifice (as here) or burial (as, for example, *A.* 6.176). But Virgil's use of *pius* is more puzzling in some human contexts: at *A.* 4.393 *pius Aeneas* leaves the impassioned Dido, not without compassion, but in answer to 'Stern daughter of the voice of God! O Duty', and Virgil's contemporaries would not have been surprised to find *pietas* applied to loyalty to one's sense of mission and self-fulfilment in the face of personal tragedy; but compassion and mercy are ruled out at *A.* 10.591 (Aeneas has just killed Lucagus) *quem pius Aeneas dictis adfatur amaris*: Aeneas may be thinking of vengeance for Pallas, and *pietas* might conceivably be extended to cover personal vendetta, but what of reviling the dead? There is a curious combination of sober Roman virtue and typically Greek 'heroic' behaviour (cf. *Il.* 16.742 ff. esp. τὸν δ' ἐπικερτομέων).

84 f. **tibi, maxima Iuno, / mactat**: this sudden *apostrophe* to the god seems much more artificial than the usual invocation by the worshipper (as at 71 f., 293 f. and cf. *A.* 7.389 f.); but it occurs elsewhere, always in connection with a word of sacrificing, and is obviously a formula: cf. *A.* 3.118 f. *sic fatus meritos aris mactavit honores, / taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo*; *A.* 6.250 f. *Aeneas matri Eumenidum magnaeque sorori / ense ferit* (sc. *agnam*), *sterilemque tibi, Proserpina, vaccam*; Ovid *Met.* 4.755 f. *mactatur vacca Minervae, / alipedi vitulus, taurus tibi, summe deorum.* Very similar is *A.* 6.18 f. *tibi Phoebe sacravit / remigium alarum*, which Norden (*ad loc.*) derives from the style of Greek *ex voto* dedications like *A.P.* 5.9 σοὶ...Φοῖβε δῶρα τάδε κρέμαται; if this is so, the natural invocation by the dedicator is echoed in an apostrophe by the poet in the context of the narrative, and this will hold good for the sacrificial formulae above. The metrical convenience of the vocative, and the desire for *variatio* in expression no doubt played some part in some examples but should not be pressed. For apostrophe in general and its degeneration into a mannerism see the note on 643 *Albane.*

This kind of apostrophe is foreign to Homer: Aulus Gellius *N.A.* 13.27.3, comparing Homer *Il.* 11.728 ταῦρον δ' Ἀλφειῷ, ταῦρον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι with *A.* 3.119 (above), regarded Homer's verse as *simplicior et sincerior*, Virgil's as νεωτερικώτερος *et quodam quasi ferumine inmisso fucatior*, 'rather daubed with a kind of added paste' (the word *tibi*).

A white sow would turn out to be an entirely suitable sacrifice to Juno: the quotations above show the general tendency (but not fixed rule) to suit the sex of the victim to that of the divinity, and white or shining victims were chosen for gods of the upper world whom one wished to encourage, black for those of the underworld whom one wished to discourage. A sow was the standard sacrifice, in certain rituals, to Ceres and to Maia, but Virgil is not suggesting that Juno was, or should be, assimilated to any other deity.

85 **mactat...sistit**: Page and Conington follow Servius in regarding

this as a case of ὕστερον πρότερον (he must have stationed the sow at the altar *before* he slaughtered her), but this is not necessarily so, for although *mactare* came regularly to mean 'to slay a victim', Virgil may well be restoring its older sense here, meaning approximately 'to hallow, consecrate' (see Warde Fowler, *ASR ad loc.*). For the controversy as to whether *macto* derives from the unattested *macio*, 'I sprinkle' (L. R. Palmer), or the equally unattested *mago*, 'I increase' (O. Skutsch and H. J. Rose) see *CQ* 32 (1938), 57 f. and 220 ff.; 35 (1941), 52 ff.; 36 (1942), 15 ff.

86-9 Suggested in substance by *Od.* 5.451 ff., but with a difference in details. Odysseus, after taking the initiative in praying to the *unknown* river-god of the land of the Phaeacians (445 *Κλῦθι, ἄναξ, ὅτις ἐσσί*), has his prayer granted immediately and is rescued into the *river-mouth*, 451 ff.: *Ὣς φάθ'· ὁ δ' αὐτίκα παῦσεν ἑὸν ῥόον, ἔσχε δὲ κῦμα, / πρόσθε δέ οἱ ποίησε γαλήνην, τὸν δ' ἐσάωσεν / ἐς ποταμοῦ προχοάς.*

86 **ea...quam longa est nocte** may be an attempt to render the Greek compound adjective *παννύχιος*. Indeed the idea of Tiberinus giving nocturnal assistance may possibly owe something to Athene's assistance (*Od.* 2.420 f.), which sped Telemachus' voyage during the night (434, *παννυχίη μέν ῥ' ἥ γε καὶ ἠῶ πεῖρε κέλευθον*).

The phrase = 'that whole livelong night'; cf. *A.* 4.193 *nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere* and Pease's note there for other instances of this poetic idiom.

86 **tumentem** hints at the constant danger of flooding, cf. Horace *Odes* 1.2.13 ff. with *N-H ad loc.* and Tacitus *Ann.* 1.76 and 79 (quoted in the note on 31). During Virgil's lifetime five floodings of the Tiber are recorded (see Le Gall, *Le Tibre* (Paris, 1953), 29). They were naturally interpreted as portents and connected with the most striking event of the time; so when the Tiber flooded on the very night after Octavian received the title Augustus (16 January, 27 B.C.), it was taken to portend his future greatness (Dio Cassius 53.20).

87 **leniit**: a light or heavy pause after a dactylic word in the first foot of a hexameter is frequent in Virgil (occurring in about six per cent of his lines, according to Winbolt 14 f.). It can have an obviously descriptive value: the initial stress and falling rhythm of the dactyl brought to a halt suggest forceful energy spending itself rapidly, and so this rhythm seems naturally to carry with it a feeling of speed, suddenness or decisiveness. This is particularly true when the first dactylic word is a third person singular verb, either historic present or, more often, a perfect of instantaneous action: with *leniit* here, compare *extulit* 2, *mugiit* 218, *impulit* 239 (a good example), *advocat* 250, *evomit* 253, *excitat* 543, *spargitur* 695.

87 **refluens**: a wonder; rivers flowing backwards as a sign that the natural order of things is in chaos were a venerable literary trope, *ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί* (Eur. *Medea* 410); Turnus uses it for rhetorical sarcasm at *A.* 11.405 *amnis et Hadriacas retro fugit Aufidus undas.* The trope often appears as an 'impossibility' (*ἀδύνατον*), e.g. Ovid *Her.* 5.29 f. *cum Paris Oenone poterit spirare relicta, / ad fontem Xanthi versa recurret aqua.* The actual occurrence was of course attributed to some supernatural inter-

ference, usually witchcraft (*A.* 4.489; Tibullus 1.2.43 f.; Lucan 6.472 ff.).

88 **mitis** with *stagni*, the 'theme' of which *placidae paludis* is the variation. For *ut* postponed to second place in both this line and the next, see the note on 22 *ubi.*

89 **sterneret aequor aquis**: '(so as to) smooth the surface of the waters'; cf. *A.* 5.821 *sternitur aequor aquis* (by Neptune stilling the waves). *aequor* basically means a flat, level surface, and is often used alone to mean the sea (cf. Varro *L.L.* 7.23 *aequor mare appellatum, quod aequatum, cum commotum vento non est*), *or* the land (cf. *G.* 1.50, *G.* 1.97, *A.* 5.456). The addition of *aquis* in the above phrases suggests that *aequor* is being used in its basic sense.

89 **aquis** itself is another dative/ablative ambiguity; it could be a possessive dative, or a local ablative, and there are other possibilities; Virgil is exploiting this ambiguity, giving the word virtually the force of an adjective, 'the watery floor' (see Mackail, *App.* A, p. 513).

89 **luctamen**: Virgil ventures two new noun coinages in this book, *luctamen* here and (with related suffix) the plural *temptamenta* in 144. Noun formations in *-men* had Ennian authority and Lucretian precedent; Virgil's formations here are from *first* conjugation verbs (contrast Ennius' *momine Ann.* 595 V and Lucretius' *molimine* 4.902). Ovid is much freer than Virgil in coinages of this type: alongside *temptamenta* (*Met.* 7.728, 15.629) appears *temptamina* (*Met.* 3.341, 7.734); *luctamen* did not have the same vogue, but was taken up by Valerius Flaccus (6.510), Claudian (*B.Goth.* 138), and Ausonius (*Mosella* 34). More novelties of the same type were later devised by Apuleius, for example, *Met.* 11.9.2 *mulieres...vario laetantes gestamine, verno florentes coronamine.* For a 'sprachgeschichtliche Untersuchung' of the whole topic, see Norden's note, *Ennius und Vergilius* 27 ff.

90 **iter...celerant**: *celerare* is always transitive in Virgil, *adcelerare* intransitive. The variant *peragunt* derives from a misrecollection or marginal note of *A.* 6.384.

90 **rumore secundo**: on balance it is best to punctuate heavily *after* these words. They mean 'with shouts of applause', as at Ennius *Ann.* 255 V, Cicero *Div.* 1.29, Horace *Epp.* 1.10.9, and Sueius (a contemporary of Catullus) *redeunt referunt rumore petita secundo* (the source of Virgil's phrase here, according to Macrobius 6.1.37). Cf. also the similar *fremituque secundo A.* 5.338, and *clamore secundo A.* 10.266. The shouts came either from the crews themselves (Cerda, Conington, Sabbadini), delighted at the ease of their task and encouraging each other, or more probably from their comrades on the bank cheering them off (Dryden, Mackail; and cf. Ap. Rh. 1.556: when the Argo set out, Chiron *νόστον ἐπευφήμησεν ἀκηδέα νισσομένοισιν*). Henry objects that an exploring party in unknown territory would not wish to attract attention by making any kind of noise, but Virgil's view is not likely to have been so ruthlessly practical. The very similar *A.* 6.384 may further suggest that here also we have a whole-line sense-unit.

Tiberius Donatus (followed by Henry) took *rumore* to mean the ripple

of the water. This meaning is accepted by Heyne and Hirtzel who connect *r. secundo* with what follows. But this sense is difficult to parallel except by Ausonius *Mosella* 21 f. *amoena fluenta /subterlabentis tacito rumore Mosellae*: clearly a poetic extension of the basic use, perhaps inspired by an individual interpretation of Virgil's phrase here.

The original reading of the *codex Mediceus* was *Rumone*, which Servius on *A.* 8.63 explains as an ancient name of the Tiber *quasi ripas ruminans et exedens*; so here it = *favente fluvio*. The name has an authentic ring about it, and its rarity would expose it to corruption at an early stage; but that same rarity suggests that it was a late antiquarian fiction. The *sense* of the phrase = *amne secundo* would fit well with *refluens* 87, and is not contradicted by *adversum* 58 (the usual state of the river) or *fatigant* 94.

91 This line owes its first two words and their rhythms, but nothing more, to a reminiscence of Ennius *Ann.* 386 V *Labitur uncta carina, volat super impetus undas*, and *Ann.* 478 V *Labitur uncta carina per aequora cana celocis*. In both lines Ennius chooses the obvious device to convey speed, a purely dactylic sequence (the exact opposite of his most frequent pattern in the *Annales*, with spondees in all feet except the fifth), and with complete coincidence of ictus and accent (except for *volat*). Virgil's rhythmical pattern is very much more subtle: a dactylic sweep is maintained until the strong caesura in the fourth foot, but whereas *labitur uncta* (three and two syllables respectively) has a falling rhythm with coincidence of ictus and accent, *vadis abies* (two and three syllables respectively) has a rising rhythm with clash of ictus and accent; at this point the swift movement is arrested by the slow wonderment of the waves, and the completion of the fourth foot as a spondee; and at the same time the preceding clash of stresses is resolved (as usual) in the last two feet of the line, only to be resumed at the beginning of the next. The two lines are bound together by anaphora of *mirantur, miratur* (of which Virgil is extremely fond, cf. *A.* 1.420 f.; *A.* 1.709; *A.* 8.161), so placed that the ictus falls on exactly different parts of the word.

uncta = 'smeared', i.e. 'well-tarred'.

mirantur et undae: note the postponement of the normal connective *et* to second place in its clause. This is not so common as one might expect: there is only one example in *A.* 6 (840), three in *A.* 4 (124, 418, 513); in *A.* 8 there are two more besides this one (329, 517). *nec* (*neque*) and *sed* also occur in second place in Virgil (although not in *A.* 8; see Norden 404), as they had before him in Catullus who provides the earliest evidence for the postponement of connectives: hence the strong supposition that this is a neoteric mannerism, inherited from Hellenistic poetry (see Austin on *A.* 4.33); *et* too was probably influenced by postponed καί, although there seems curiously to be no example in Catullus (*LHSz* 2, 484); see Fordyce on Catullus 23.7.

92 f. 'and the woodland, unused to such a sight, marvels at the heroes' shields gleaming afar on the river, and the painted hulls floating in it.'

insuetum nemus is another instance of pathetic fallacy, cf. *E.* 6.40 (*cumque*) *rara per ignaros errent animalia montes*, 'and when (for the first

time) animals wander here and there over the hills which do not recognise them'.

The hulls of the ships were decorated, as usual in the Heroic Age, and emblazoned shields were hung on their sides while their owners rowed.

For the variation between *fulgentia* (participle) and *innare* (infinitive) see the note on 630 f.

(The MS variant *mirantur* in line 92 makes no sense and is a mindless repetition of the same word in line 91.)

93 **virum** gen. pl. (as also at 197, 312, 315, 500, 539); the *-um* termination (Indogermanic *-om*, Greek *-ων*) is the original one in the gen. pl. of the second declension, and survived in some of the formulae of law and religion like *praefectus fabrum* and *pro deum fidem*; the 'expanded' form in *-orum* was taken over from the pronoun inflexion, *illorum*, etc., and established through the similarity of *-arum* of the first declension. See *LHSz* 1, 278 f.

94 **olli** = *illi* (cf. 594; 659 *ollis*, dat. pl., and *olli*, dat. sing., *A*. 5.10, the only three cases used by Virgil): the root *ol-* is the same as in *olim*. *olle*, etc., had already disappeared from living speech by the time of Plautus (*LHSz* 1, 286), and in Lucretius and Virgil is a deliberate archaism. Quintilian (8.3.24 f.) approved of Virgil's perfect taste in using it and other archaisms like *quianam* and *pone* which, not being quaintly obsolete, gave a venerable dignity to style.

noctemque diemque fatigant: cf. Propertius 4.11.81 *sat tibi sint noctes, quas de me, Paulle, fatiges*; another variety of pathetic fallacy, where a period of time is personalised and regarded as affected by or sharing in what happens to someone during it; it reflects a primitive view of time as a material object, cf. Aesch. *Ag*. 894 ὁρῶσα πλείω τοῦ ξυνεύδοντος χρόνου; in Virgil cf. *A*. 2.647 f. *annos / demoror*; *A*. 5.766 *noctemque diemque morantur*; *A*. 10. 808 *exercere diem*; bolder extensions are *E*. 9.52 *condere soles* and *A*. 4.193 *hiemem...fovere*.

noctemque diemque: the use of *-que...-que* (strictly 'both...and', but the first *-que* adds little or nothing to the meaning and can be ignored in translation) to link closely together words closely related in meaning or reference is a formula modelled on the Greek τε... τε (e.g. in Homer *Il*. 5.426 ὣς φάτο, μείδησεν δὲ πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε). In early Latin literature it seems to have been reserved for the high style (Plautus confines it to passages of elevated tone, see Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus* 209 f.); Ennius had promoted it because, like its Greek model, it was very serviceable in hexameter composition, especially in the last two feet (cf., for example, *Ann*. 405 V *semper abundantes hastas frangitque quatitque*). Virgil continued its use, and latter epic poets followed his example. It is however completely avoided by classical prose (the sole exception, Cic. *Fin*. 1.51 *noctesque diesque*—the same formulaic commonplace as here—is probably a reminiscence of Ennius (see *Ann*. 334 V)); in post-classical prose its use is severely restricted (see *LHSz* 2, 515). See further Palmer, *LL* 113 f.; Austin, *A*. 4.83; R. D. Williams, *A*. 5.92. In *A*. 8 this calque couples the *last* two words of the hexameter at 490, 550, 601, the *first* two

at 291, 294, 312, 425; it occupies some other part of the verse at 94 (here), 277, 433. It should be carefully distinguished from instances where the first *-que* is truly connective (joining the whole clause to what precedes), and the second connects yet a further clause or phrase; cases of this legitimate use are more frequent than those of the calque, cf., for example, 60 f. *Iunoni fer rite preces, iramque minasque* (= *et iram minasque*) / *supplicibus supera votis*; 431 *sonitumque metumque*.

95 f. A good instance of a repeated word-pattern (adj., verb, noun) whose second occurrence overflows into the next line, helping the mobility of the verse; see the Appendix, p. 200.

96 **viridisque secant placido aequore silvas**: 'and cut through the green woods on the calm surface of the water', i.e. they row between small islets of clumps of trees, and 'cut through them' just as the Tiber itself 'cuts through' the rich crops, *pinguia culta secantem* (63). This is the interpretation of Heyne, Henry and Page. It fits in well with Virgil's picture of the densely wooded banks (*A*. 7.29 ff.) of the Tiber, which is now in flood (86 f.), isolating groups of trees.

Servius, followed by Mackail and Conington, took the line to refer to the *reflection* of the trees in the water. But there is no word in the Latin to convey the notion of 'reflected' as there is in, for example, Pliny *Epp*. 8.8.4 *ripae fraxino multa, multa populo vestiuntur, quas perspicuus amnis velut mersas viridi imagine adnumerat*, or Petronius 119 *Bellum Civile* 28 (a highly polished table) *citrea mensa greges servorum ostrumque renidens*, or Ausonius *Mosella* 189 ff., 218 f., 222 ff., 225-9.

97 The line recalls Homer's ἦμος δ' ἠέλιος μέσον οὐρανὸν ἀμφιβεβήκει ('was bestriding') (*Il*. 8.68); its sense simply = *post meridiem*. Circumlocutions for the time of day, the season, etc., were traditional apparatus of the high style of epic and tragedy (cf. *A*. 8.280, 369, 407 f.); they became a hackneyed ornament (Quintilian 8.6.59 ff.), the delight of poetasters (Seneca *Epp*. 122.11 ff.), and a fit object for mockery (Seneca *Apocol*. 2).

97 ff. Aeneas' arrival and reception at Pallanteum are modelled closely on Telemachus' visit to Nestor at Pylos (*Od*. 3.1 ff.), and, to a lesser extent, his visit to Menelaus at Sparta (*Od*. 4.1 ff.). Up to now (see the note on 31-96) the Homeric subtexture of the book has implied an equation between Aeneas and Odysseus; at first sight it is puzzling that Aeneas' situation should recall so unambiguously that of Odysseus' *son* Telemachus in search of his father. Virgil's motive in making the change was no doubt the necessity of giving plausibility to Aeneas' friendly reception. In the world of Homeric heroes the sure guarantee of a warm welcome was already existing family friendship (which could even prevent a duel, *Il*. 6.119 ff. and esp. 215 Diomedes and Glaucus): Evander had once been host to Anchises (154 ff.) and recognises Aeneas from his likeness to his father, just as Nestor detected a similarity in speech (alone) between Telemachus and his father (*Od*. 3.122 ff.), and Helen noticed the physical resemblance (*Od*. 4.141 ff.), which Nestor and Menelaus had missed.

The chief points of similarity in the two passages: when Telemachus arrives Nestor and the Pylians are sacrificing to Poseidon (*Od*. 3.4 ff.), when

Aeneas arrives Evander and the Arcadians are sacrificing to Hercules (102 ff.); Nestor's son Peisistratus greets Telemachus (*Od.* 3.36 ff.), Evander's son Pallas welcomes the distinguished Trojan newcomer (121 ff.); Telemachus explains who he is and what he wants (*Od.* 3.79 ff.), as does Aeneas (117-20, 127 ff.); Nestor's first narration (*Od.* 3.103-200) is comparable in length with Evander's story of Cacus (185-275). Nestor reminisces discursively on the Trojan War and the homecoming of the heroes (*Od.* 3.102 ff.), Evander reminisces on the past history of the site of Rome (185-272, 314-61); Nestor refers his guest for further help to Menelaus at Sparta (*Od.* 3.317 ff.), Evander refers Aeneas to Tarcho and the Etruscans (475 ff.). At the end of Nestor's talk with Telemachus there is a sign from heaven (*Od.* 3.371 f.), which Nestor answers with a sacrifice: Evander's talk with Aeneas is also ended by a heavenly sign (523 ff.) also answered by sacrifice. Finally, Nestor sends his son, the first to have greeted the stranger, to accompany him on the next stage of his journey: so does Evander.

There are however significant differences of detail: Nestor's large host (over 4,500 strong) naturally shows no alarm at the arrival of Telemachus' ship (even though Nestor suspects they may be pirates, *Od.* 3.72 ff.), and Telemachus and his companion Mentor (the disguised Athene) are immediately invited to pray and pour libations to Poseidon (*Od.* 3.40 ff.), then take part in the sacrificial meal (*Od.* 3.65 ff.), and only then are asked their identity and purpose (*Od.* 3.69 f., *Νῦν δὴ κάλλιόν ἐστι μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι / ξείνους, οἵ τινές εἰσιν, ἐπεὶ τάρπησαν ἐδωδῆς*). (This is the sequence demanded by heroic etiquette, observed even by the swineherd Eumaeus (*Od.* 14.80 ff., 187 ff.), ignored only by the brute Polyphemus (*Od.* 9.252). Amyclus, on the arrival of the Argonauts (Val. Fl. 4.204 f.), is almost as savage as Cacus, *devolat inde furens, nec quo via curve profecti / nec genus ante rogat, sed tali protonat ira.*) But the small company of the poor Arcadian settlement are terrified by the sudden sight of Aeneas' reconnaissance party (109 f.), whose members are immediately asked 'friend or foe?' (112 ff.), and are invited to the feast (172 ff.) only after inquiries and diplomatic interchanges. Virgil has managed to convey unobtrusively the fear and insecurity of a comparatively weak settlement in a hostile country.

Two important consequences for characterisation followed from Virgil's decision to model Aeneas' arrival at Pallanteum on Telemachus' arrival at Pylos: Evander became endowed with some of the characteristics of Nestor (see the note on 560 ff.), and Pallas was modelled after Peisistratus.

97 ff. **conscenderat... / cum... / ...vident**: for the *cum inversum* see the note on 26 ff.

98 f. **muros...ac rara domorum / tecta**: the 'walls...and scattered roofs of houses' are pure imagination on Virgil's part; in fact, however, the earliest huts of the Palatine settlement were 'scattered' and not organised into anything like streets or *vici*, or the village communities of Teutonic countries (see Einar Gjerstadt 3, 46 f.).

98 **procul**, 'at a distance', often, but not always, a great distance.

procŭl: note the scansion. Virgil occasionally lengthens final syllables which Augustan and later poetry regularly treats as short, but only under strict conditions relating to both verse and prosody: (1) the syllable *invariably* bears the ictus (the stress of the verse-rhythm), and *usually* either precedes a main caesura in the third or fourth foot (which in turn usually coincides with a sense-pause however slight), or occurs in the last two feet of the line in close association with a Greek-derived word or a Greek rhythm (spondaic fifth foot). (2) As regards prosody, Virgil often follows Ennius (and other early poets) in conserving what was originally a genuinely long syllable, although it is a moot point whether Virgil actually appreciated this: masculine nouns in *-or* (*-os*) almost invariably have this syllable long in Ennius (*sudor Ann.* 406 V is an exception), and so in Virgil with *amor* (*E.* 10.69; *A.* 11.323), *dolor* (*A.* 12.422) and others (note *melior G.* 4.92). But since all Latin words have their natural stress on some syllable *before* the last, some originally long final syllables tended to become short: the imperfect termination *-bat* already fluctuates between long and short in Ennius (hence too in Virgil it is long at *A.* 5.853, 10.383, 12.772), and the same is true of present terminations in *-et* (cf. *vidēt A.* 1.308), and *-it* (cf. *facīt E.* 7.23), and the imperfect subjunctive in *-eret* (cf. *peterēt A.* 1.651). This explanation however will hardly hold good for the lengthening of the last syllable of *populus* at *Ann.* 90 *Iamque expectabat populūs atque ora tenebat*: here Ennius is lengthening a naturally short syllable in imitation of similar 'irrational' lengthenings in Homer, and Virgil ventured even further in this strictly epic tradition (it is noteworthy that in Cicero's poetry, Lucretius and Catullus short final syllables lengthened contrary to contemporary usage occur so rarely in the MS traditions that they have always been called into question and emended). Noun and verb terminations in *-ur* and *-us* form by far the largest part of his innovations (cf. *datur A.* 5.284 and Williams' note; *pectoribus A.* 4.64 and Austin's note), and the consonants *-r* and *-s* are easily capable of being prolonged (if they were double consonants, *-rr*, *-ss* they would necessarily lengthen the preceding syllable); *-l* too falls in this category and may account for *procul* here, if it is a complete innovation and not precedented in early poetry now lost. *caput* at *A.* 10.394 *nam tibi, Thymbre, capūt Euandrius abstulit ensis* is an unparalleled innovation suggested perhaps by the Greek flavour of the proper names.

See further Nettleship's excursus to *A.* 12 (in his revision of Conington's edition, vol. 3); Norden 450 ff. For the special cases of *subiit* 363, and *-que* 425, see the notes there.

In epic poetry after Virgil the use of this licence is rare and unexperimental compared with his: lengthened final syllables of 3rd sing. verbs other than *eo* and its compounds do not occur in Lucan (Housman's note on 2.565) and are very rare in Statius (*Th.* 1.403 *agit*; 6.351 *erat* (*erant* Slater)); in Valerius Flaccus I have noted only 8.259 *impediit*, although he is fond of lengthening final *-us*, 2.225, 6.152 and 570, 8.149.

101 **ocius**: comparative adverbs are often used not with reference to a specific point of comparison, but in a more independent way = 'more..

than not', 'fairly...'. So *saepius* = 'more often than not', 'fairly often', and in this way the comparative comes to represent a *weakening* of the force of the straightforward positive 'often'. Lively colloquial speech took a great liking to some of these comparative forms: *ociter* was soon eclipsed (in Plautus) by *ocius*, and *citius, celerius, tardius, serius* are favourite forms of the *sermo cotidianus*, with a meaning virtually indistinguishable from that of the positive. See further *LHSz* 2, 168 f. *ocius* has the same force at 278 and 555; contrast the true comparative adjective at 223 *ocior Euro*.

urbique propinquant hardly fits well with either time or place: they do not disembark until later, and there was in any case a grove between the river-bank and the city. L. Delaruelle, *RPhil* 36 (1912), 309 f., proposes *ripae* for *urbi* (cf. *A*. 6.410), but it is more plausible to assume that Virgil wishes to allude, even prematurely, to Evander's settlement.

102-125 *The Arcadians happen to be engaged in sacrifice to Hercules when they are disturbed by the sudden appearance of strangers. Evander's son Pallas runs forward to inquire who they are and what they want, and when he learns from Aeneas' reply that they are Trojans, he welcomes him hospitably and leads him to his father.*

102 **forte die...illo**: *εὐσυμβόλως, id est bono omine victori deo* (sc. *Herculi Invicto*) *Troianis venientibus sacra celebrantur*, Servius. The annual festival of Hercules Invictus at the Ara Maxima was probably celebrated on the same day as at his temple nearby at the Circus Maximus (12 August) or at the rather more distant Porta Trigemina (13 August). P. Grimal, *REA* 53 (1951), 51-61, sees another designed coincidence in the situation: Augustus' triple triumph in 29 B.C. (see 714 and note) began on 13 August (*Acta Triumphorum CIL* 1.2.180). In view of the importance of the link between Hercules and Augustus as divine saviours (see the Introduction, p. XXII f.) in this book, Virgil may well be reminding contemporaries of the association of dates, perhaps even arranged by Augustus to stress the connection. See also Camps 100.

102 **die...illo**: Austin (on *A*. 4.169) gives a useful summary (based on E. Fraenkel, 'Das Geschlecht von *dies*', *Glotta* 8 (1917), 24 ff.) of the fluctuations in gender. The rule of classical prose, that *dies masculine* denotes a single day as a definite date, whereas the *feminine* marks a day as the expiry of a longer period (exemplified by Caesar *B.G.* 1.6.4), was contravened by the poets for metrical reasons. Virgil makes *dies* masculine wherever metrically possible—in all the oblique cases, and in the nominative with *ille*; ordinary adjectives in the nominative are invariably feminine (necessarily so in formulae like *ŏrtă dĭēs*, etc.).

102 **sollemnem...honorem**: the derivation of *sollemnis* is uncertain (perhaps *soll-* = *totus*, and *-emnis* from *annus*), but the phrase here means the same as *sacra...annua* 172 f.

103 **Amphitryoniadae**: first in Greek in Hesiod (*Theogony* 317) (not in Homer); first in Latin at Catullus 68.112 *falsiparens Amph.*, 'falsely called Amphitryon's son'. Hercules' real father was Jupiter, but Alcmene's

husband was Amphitruo: hence the patronymic (cf. *Alcides* 203 and often, from Alcaeus father of Amphitruo). Only the gen. and abl. of *Hercules* itself are suitable for hexameters.

103 **divisque**: which? It is strange that *any* other gods should be involved in the sacrifice to Hercules. The ninetieth section of Plutarch's *Quaestiones Romanae* is entitled 'Why is no other god mentioned during a sacrifice to Hercules, and why is a dog never seen within his enclosures, as Varro records?' The answer is that this and many other features of the Hercules cult preserved the memory that he was a foreign (Greek) god, in whose rites the usual invocation of other (Roman) deities had no part. On *A*. 6.830 Servius explains Hercules' cult-title Monoecus (*Μόνοικος*, 'Lone-dweller'), which gave its name to the principality of Monaco, 'because in his temple another god is never worshipped at the same time, as Minerva and Juno are in the temple of Jupiter (sc. on the Capitol), and Cupid in the temple of Venus'. But if this exclusiveness was a feature of the organised state worship, it was not the case in the popular religion of the countryside, which often invoked him with other protectors of home and farm like Liber and Silvanus (see Wissowa *RuK*² 281 f.). It is possible that Virgil is thinking of this type of private cult, and that the inclusive formula *divisque ferebat* (cf. *divosque precantur* 279), which protected the worshippers against offending any deity by neglect, here refers to any spirits there might be in the *lucus*, including Silvanus (cf. 600 f.).

104 **ante urbem**: *in front of* Evander's settlement on the Palatine. Tacitus *Ann*. 12.24 expressly says that in historical times the Ara Maxima lay *within* the boundary of the old Palatine settlement, which was still (Varro *L.L*. 5.143) marked by boundary-stones (a fact which suggests that the cult was not considered alien enough to be kept *extra pomerium*). Virgil was probably not equating Pallanteum with the old *historical* Palatine settlement so closely, nor is it likely, as Conington and others have suggested, that he was thinking of the hallowed Athenian custom of sacrificing to Heracles outside the city walls (Dem. *Fals. Leg*. p. 368). *ante urbem in luco* occurs also at *A*. 3.302, and *divisque ferebam* at *A*. 3.19: Virgil remembered nobody's poetry better than his own, and his reminiscences do not always chime in with the material background of the new context. Binder 43, n. 13, sees an intentional cross-reference between *A*. 3.302 whose setting is Buthrotum, a copy of Troy, and *A*. 8.104 whose setting is the site of Rome, the new Troy-to-be.

D. L. Drew's suggestion (*The Allegory of the Aeneid*, Oxford, 1927), that Virgil moved the position of the altar deliberately (as his readers would have appreciated immediately), because on Hercules' Day (12 August) 29 B.C. Augustus himself was *ante urbem*, outside the walls, waiting to enter next day for his triumph, is one of his more attractive ideas, but, like his general thesis, founders on the improbability of assuming that Virgil was *more* preoccupied with oblique *sous-entendus* than with the surface level of the narrative. A perceptive contemporary could no doubt have read allusions to recent history into the narrative here, and 188-201 (see H. Bellen, *RhM* 106 (1963), 23 ff.).

104 **Pallas huic filius una**: 'Pallas his son was with him.' It is best to take *huic* (cf. Woodcock 45 f.) as a possessive dative, and *una* as an adverb with its usual meaning of 'alongside, in company'. The normal way of expressing 'along with him, in his company' is *una cum eo*. *LS s.v.* cite this passage as a 'poetical' use of *una* with the *dative*, and Conington (*ad loc.*) says '*una* with dat. like *similis, pariter*'. In the absence of any parallel this explanation is virtually impossible, even though the dative is regularly used with adjectives and adverbs expressing proximity. At *A.* 7.649 *filius huic iuxta Lausus, huic* is certainly a possessive dative and *iuxta* an adverb, and at *A.* 8.631 *huic ubera circum, huic* is once again a possessive dative and *circum* a preposition governing *ubera*.

105 **pauper**: a distinction is usually drawn (e.g. by Servius *auctus* on *G.* 1.146) between *paupertas*, respectable 'humble circumstances' (a much advertised virtue of the early Republic), and *egestas*, squalid 'poverty'. *pauper* is unlikely to mean few in number, as Servius suggests, although this would fit well with the traditional account (see the note on 333).

106 **tura dabant**: Servius *auctus* sees a reminiscence of the technical language of ritual: *da quod debes de manu dextra aris*. Note that the people in general offer incense as a preliminary purification (cf. in its context Horace *Odes* 4.2.51 f. *dabimusque divis tura benignis*); only magistrates and priests could actually make prayer and sacrifice *pro populo* (in 179 f. the roasted offal is served by the priest of the altar of Hercules and by *lecti iuvenes*).

107 f. 'When they saw the towering ships and their crews gliding towards them, parting the shady grove, and bending over the oars, rowing silently...'

tacitos: with nobody shouting the time to the rowers (so Servius) and with as little noise as possible. The ill-supported variant *tacitis*, accepted by Ribbeck, Hirtzel and Sabbadini, is not a case of a more difficult reading being preferable, but of a less preferable reading being impossible. It is superficially tempting to take *tacitis incumbere remis* = 'resting on their silent oars', at an 'easy' position with the blades out of the water, but Virgilian idiom (see the note on 30) requires *tacitis* to be taken as an adverb, not an attributive adjective, as similarly with *validisque incumbere remis A.* 5.15. But the chief objection to *tacitis* is that the subject of *incumbere* is then *rates*, and to speak of '*ships* bending over the oars' is surely impossible. In the course of the sentence attention evidently moves from the ships to their crews: this needs to be made explicit, as it is by the consensus of the most reliable MSS, which offer *tacitos*.

110 **rumpere** here = *interrumpere*, simple for compound verb. Compound verbs, often intensive, are a feature of vigorous speech, popular and educated; to use a simple verb in the sense of one of its compounds has an archaic flavour, and often also a metrical advantage. In Virgil cf. *A.* 1.20 *verteret* for *everteret* (with Conway's note), *A.* 6.620 *temnere* for *contemnere* (with Norden's note), and in *A.* 8 the particular case of *ponere* in the notes on 329, 639.

If a sacrifice or festival was interrupted, it had to be begun again

from the very beginning (*instaurare*), and in addition a propitiatory offering (*piaculum*) might have to be made to win back the god's favour; hence Pallas' anxiety. 175 f. seem to imply that there was some kind of interruption, but 'religious' continuity could be maintained so long as one worshipper remained to carry on the ceremony.

112 **procul**: see the note on 98; here evidently within earshot, cf. Ter. *Hec.* 607 *quem cum istoc sermonem habueris, procul hinc stans accepi, uxor.*

112 f. **subegit...temptare**: 'has driven (you) to try'. *subigo* has the meaning of both (1) 'compel', (2) 'drive' in a literal sense implying motion.

(1) *cogo* (itself also a compound of *ago*) is followed by a prolative infinitive in all periods and styles: *subigo* with the same meaning is the easiest of extensions (cf., for example, Plaut. *Truc.* 783).

(2) After verbs of motion it seems entirely natural that an infinitive should be used to express purpose, and it is commonly so used in the colloquial Latin of Plautus, but it was unacceptable to the purist Latinity of Caesar and Cicero. Nevertheless it continued to exist through the late Republic in prose which had little claim to literary style (e.g. Varro's *Res Rusticae*); and it was maintained, as a convenient verse form, by the Augustan poets. In popular speech it never died, flourished in vulgar and late Latin, and passed into the Romance languages (e.g. Fr. *je vais chercher*).

114 **qui genus, unde domo** is Virgil's compressed recasting of the Homeric τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες; (e.g. at *Od.* 1.170). *genus* (as also at *A.* 5.285 *Cressa genus*) is an accusative of respect, of the type frequently used by the Augustan poets in frank imitation of the normal Greek construction (the native Latin basis for the construction is a slender one, see Palmer, *LL* 288 f.); it does not occur in Roman comedy or in classical prose, which prefers an *ablative* of respect with adjectives (e.g. *natione Medus*). Tacitus is the first prose author to use this idiom with adjectives other than participles (e.g. *manum aeger, Hist.* 4.81). Most Greek-imitated constructions are extensions of vigorous Latin usages already in existence, and find their way into prose by the time of Livy: this is a notable exception. See the note on 425 *nudus membra. unde domo* (as also at Plaut. *Poen.* 1376; Horace *Epp.* 1.7.53), literally 'from where, from home', is best regarded as an idiomatic conflation, the second idea added (in apposition) to make the first more precise; this seems more in keeping with language development than to suppose with Conington that *domo* is an ablative of respect. See *LHSz* 2, 105 and cf. Servius on *Caerete domo* (*A.* 10.183): *ac si diceret, qui sunt domo Carthagine.*

An arma is a convenient metrical equivalent for the usual antithesis *pacem, an bellum* at, for example, Sallust *Iug.* 46.8.

115 **puppi...ab alta**: Aeneas was perhaps the helmsman of the ship he was in, and is therefore at the stern; cf. *A.* 5.12 *ipse gubernator puppi Palinurus ab alta*; the ship itself is presumably alongside the river-bank for which it was heading (101), but no details of the actual mooring manœuvre are given. (Claude's famous painting of *The Arrival of Aeneas at Pallanteum* shows Aeneas speaking from the *prow* of a ship with *one* bank of oars only;

and other details too do not suggest the careful reading of the text which has sometimes been maintained.)

116 **paciferaeque manu ramum praetendit olivae**: the olive branch, often bound with wool (at 128 with a *vitta*, a ceremonial chaplet), was carried by suppliants (*supplex* 145) according to *Greek* practice (cf. Soph. *O.T.* 3 ἱκτηρίοις κλάδοισιν ἐξεστεμμένοι) which associated the olive with Pallas Athene as guardian of civil rights and the arts of peace. Virgil's mention of *Minerva* as *oleae inventrix* (*G.* 1.18 f.) is poetic assimilation, not an echo of popular belief (see the note on 409), and at Lucan 3.306 *orant Cecropiae praelata fronde Minervae*, the adjective *Cecropiae* is not merely picturesque.

However, to judge from Livy 30.36.4 *velata infulis ramisque oleae Carthaginiensium occurrit navis*, the emblems had become as internationally recognised as the white flag of truce.

117 **Troiugenas** (like *Graiugenum* 127) has an exalted epic ring about it, as in Lucretius (1.465) and Catullus (64.355); it is ascribed to a *carmen* of the *vates* Marcius by Livy (25.12.5). Juvenal uses it to mock the 'blue-blooded Romans' (1.100: see Mayor's note there for the Roman search for Trojan ancestry, and cf. the note on 134-41).

118 **superbo**: not an ornamental epithet of *bello*; the Latins had shown their 'arrogance' by not recognising the rights of suppliants and guests, cf. *A.* 1.523 *gentis...superbas*...540 *hospitio prohibemur harenae*. So *profugos egere* does not = 'have driven to flight' but 'have driven out, though they were refugees'.

119 **ferte...dicite**: the plural is puzzling after 110 f. *Pallas* / ...*volat* ...*obvius ipse*; in the meantime presumably some of Evander's men had come up to join Pallas. A similar (and equally understandable) change from singular to plural occurs at Ennius *Ann.* 198 V *accipe* (Fabricius as leader of the legation)...201 *ducite* (Fabricius *and* his retinue). See also the note on 546 *graditur*.

124 This line is Virgil's recasting of the Homeric formulae χερσίν τ' ἠσπάζοντο (*Od.* 3.35, cf. *Il.* 10.542 δεξιῇ ἠσπάζοντο), and ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρί (at, for example, *Il.* 6.253).

125 **subeunt luco**: with compound verbs of motion poetry and post-classical prose could use a number of alternative constructions: (1) the simple accusative in its basic use to express goal of motion, common in Old Latin with simple verbs of motion; with compound verbs the accusative is also partly felt as 'governed' by the preverb *sub-*, etc.; cf. *A.* 6.13 *iam subeunt Triviae lucos*; (2) the accusative with a preposition which repeats or varies the preverb, cf. *A.* 8.359 *ad tecta subibant*; (3) a dative, as here, related partly to the poetical dative of motion after simple verbs (*it clamor caelo A.* 5.451), but more closely to the dative of interest which classical prose fittingly combines with compound verbs of motion used *figuratively* (*invaserat furor improbis*, Cic. *Att.* 16.12.2): see Woodcock 39 f. and 44 f.

125 This line is hardly a case of ὕστερον πρότερον, for *relinquo* is nearer in meaning to 'I leave behind, abandon' than to 'I depart from'. (MS authority supports the older spelling *relincunt*.)

126-151 *Aeneas addresses Evander, laying stress on their close kinship and common enmity with the Latins, and suggests mutual pledges of support.*

127 ff. Notice the carefully measured way in which Aeneas' ambassadorial speech proceeds: the long exordium (127-33) (see the note on 374-80), whose cola swell in length (two + two + three verses), to reach the balancing statements of the two family trees (each four lines long, 134-7, 138-41) and the terse conclusion (142); artful diplomacy abandoned for direct personal intervention (143-5: note the change to lively emphasis); statement of compelling reason for alliance (146-9); proposal and guarantee (150-1). Aeneas exaggerates to gain his point (esp. 147 ff.) as much as his enemies (13 ff.). The tone also changes: what started as a highly formal request ends as a confident offer.

127 Servius *auctus* on this line says *ignotus a demonstratione personae suae incipere debebat*: he may have been thinking of ambassadorial protocol; he could hardly have been thinking of epic tradition. Neither Odysseus at the court of Alcinous (*Od.* 7 and 8), nor Aeneas on meeting the disguised Venus (*A.* 1.314 ff.) announces his identity in his first words, though neither is inhibited by modesty when he at last does (*Od.* 9.19 f.; *A.* 1.378 f.). Telemachus, in a situation which may have been at the back of Virgil's mind here (see the note on 97 ff.), first addresses Nestor (*Od.* 3.79 ff.), then names his home in Ithaca, then tells his business—the search for his father Odysseus: he does not name himself.

127 **Graiugenum**: the older gen. pl. termination in *-um* was adopted as a convenient alternative by the hexameter poets for first declension masculine compounds in *-cola* and *-gena*, like *agricola, caelicola*: contrast Lucretius' heavy *Graiugenarum* (1.477).

127 **cui**: a strictly anomalous dative with *precari*, which regularly takes an accusative of the person prayed to, or *a(b)* with the ablative when the object of the prayer is itself mentioned. In the isolated instances of the dative in Plautus (*Asin.* 477 *pergin precari pessumo?*, *Amph.* frg. 13 (Lindsay) *noli pessumae precari*) it appears = *pro* with the ablative. The abnormality here is due to the fact that the dative is entirely appropriate with *praetendere ramos* (which is simply the 'variation' on the 'theme' *precari*), that *quem me...precari* would be clumsy and ambiguous, and also perhaps that Greek εὔχεσθαι is regularly combined with the dative in this sense.

129 For *equidem* see the note on 471.

129 f. **quod...fores**: the indicative is used in a causal clause when the speaker or writer vouches for the factual truth of the reason given, the subjunctive when he does not. But the subjunctive does not *necessarily* throw doubt on the truth of the causal statement (it certainly does not in the present case); often the nuance of meaning which differentiates it from the indicative is very slight. If *fores* is not simply being used *metri gratia* for the awkward *fuisti*, its shade of meaning must be 'I was not alarmed by the thought that you were...' as opposed to 'I was not alarmed because you were...'.

130 **a stirpe**: 'by lineage', both being of Greek stock; but *geminis... coniunctus Atridis* implies a closer relationship, and ancient mythographers quoted by Servius devised a number of possible connections: the most interesting is that the sons of Atreus could, if they so wished, trace a connection with Evander through a Pleiad daughter of Atlas, just as Aeneas does in 134 ff. (see the note there). Accius' tragedy *Atreus* seems to have expounded this Atlas-connection of its hero and may have influenced Virgil here (see S. Stabryla, *Latin Tragedy in Virgil's Poetry* (Wroclaw, 1970), 62 f. and 122).

131 **sancta oracula divom**: those of Tiberinus, which had elucidated the prophecy of Apollo through the Sibyl at *A*. 6.96 f. (MS authority generally, as here, supports the older spelling *divom*).

132 Jortin's suggestion, mentioned by Conington, to transpose the second halves of this and the following line, avoids the slight harshness of the lack of a connective with *tua t.d.f.*; but the Ovidian point in *sed mea me virtus, tua terris didita fama* is questionable style for Virgil, and the MS consensus forbids change.

terris: a self-contained spondaic fourth foot which can here suitably gain emphasis through the slowness of the rhythm, but see the note on 57 *recto*.

133 **coniunxere**: a deliberate echo of *coniunctus* 130 for rhetorical point; but such close repetitions of a word are by no means always designed, see Mackail, *Introduction* 80 f.

133 **fatis egere volentem**: there is an echo here of Stoic dogma and phraseology, cf. Seneca's *sententia* (*Epp*. 107.11) in his 'translation' of the Stoic Cleanthes, *ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt*. The same is true of *praecipere* = 'to anticipate' in Aeneas' words at *A*. 6.105 *omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi* (see Norden *ad loc*.), and of *exercitus* = 'hard-tested' in Anchises' words about him at *A*. 5.725 *Iliacis exercite fatis* (see Williams *ad loc*.). This does not make Aeneas a Stoic model by any means (the Stoic traits in his character are discussed by Heinze, *VeT* 271 ff., 276 ff. and C. M. Bowra, *G & R* 3 (1933), 8 ff.), but explains to some extent his moments of unHomeric passivity and resignation.

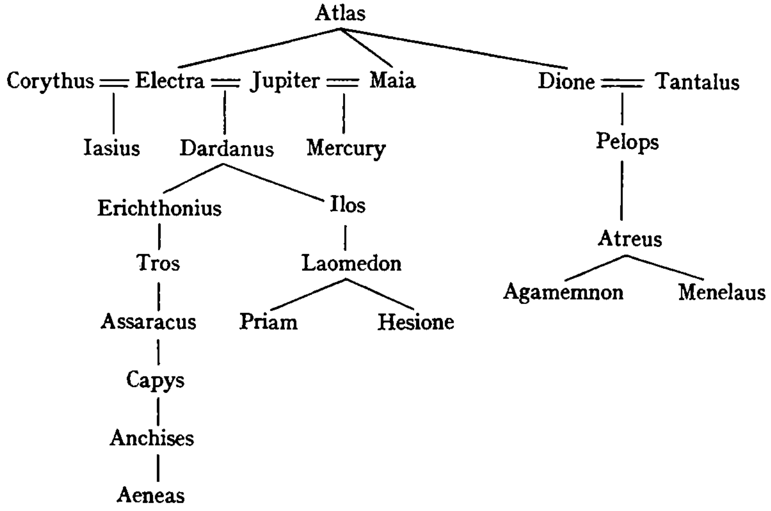
volentem here superficially contradicts *invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi* at *A*. 6.460, the almost verbatim quotation of Catullus 66.39; if Virgil thought about it at all, he is to be taken as making Aeneas equally sincere in two totally different contexts.

134-141 This whole passage, devoted to establishing a mythological family-tree of doubtful authenticity, and simply an expansion of the phrase *cognatique patres* (132), may strike a modern reader as frigid and unreal. But one must remember, first, that there was an epic tradition of such genealogies: Homeric precedent ranges from the short notice of Polyphemus' antecedents (*Od*. 1.71 ff.), to Aeneas' boastful detail of his own pedigree (*Il*. 20.213 ff.). Genealogy is here used in the service of diplomacy, and such appeals to mythology had actually been used to lend weight to various claims in the course of Roman history. In 262 B.C. the Romans received the voluntary submission of the Segestans because

they claimed to be related through common descent from Aeneas, and the claim was probably made actually in the negotiations (see J. Perret, *Les Origines de la Légende Troyenne de Rome* (Paris, 1942), 452 f. and G. Karl Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton, 1969), 173); at the end of the First Punic War the Acarnanians made diplomatic overtures to Rome appealing to the fact that they had not fought with the other Greeks against Troy (because they are not mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships?) (cf. Justin 28.1.6). These early claims are interesting as showing that the legend of the Trojan foundation of Rome must have been already widely accepted by the period of the First Punic War. Later, in a much more sophisticated and critical age Claudius (a confessed antiquarian) dwelt at length on the mythological origins of the island of Cos as a just cause to relieve it of tribute (Tac. *Ann.* 12.61); and the philhellene Nero, also in 53 A.D., obtained exemption from all public burdens for the citizens of Ilium after discoursing on the foundation of Rome from Troy and the Julian house from Aeneas (Tac. *Ann.* 12. 58), reasons which had previously influenced Julius Caesar himself to grant them favours (Strabo 13.1.27).

Secondly, there was considerable interest in antiquarian genealogy current in late Republican and Augustan Rome. Varro and Julius Hyginus (cf. Servius on *A.* 5.389 and 704) both wrote books entitled *De Familiis Troianis*: the quest of undistinguished families for Trojan ancestors was as eager as the quest for Norman blood once was in England, and Virgil himself had ministered to the need (see *A.* 5.116-23 and 568).

134 ff. The *stemma* of the family of Atlas (cf. Ovid *Fasti* 4.31 ff.):



134 ff. The crucial point in Aeneas' version of the genealogy is that it was one and the same Atlas (*caelifer*) to whom both families could be traced: hence the virtual repetition of 137 in 141. Roman mythographers quoted here by Servius might have contested this; they distinguished *three*

different Atlases, one who was a Moor, the African *caelifer*; a second who was Italian and the father of Electra; and a third who was Arcadian and the father of Maia.

134 According to Homer (*Il.* 20.215 ff.), Dardanus, son of Zeus, settled Dardania before the actual foundation of the city of Troy, being himself, apparently, indigenous to the Troad. Virgil however follows a recasting of the myth, probably of Etruscan origin, to the effect that Dardanus emigrated to the Troad from Corythus (Cortona or Tarquinii) in Etruria (*A.* 3.170, 7.240), leaving behind some of his race in Italy: hence Aeneas says (*A.* 1.380) *Italiam quaero* patriam *et genus ab Iove summo* (there, and at *A.* 6.123 *et mi genus ab Iove summo*, Aeneas is appealing to his descent from Jupiter *via* Dardanus, a point insisted on elsewhere (cf. *A.* 7.219 ff.), not *via* Venus, daughter of Jupiter by Dione). See further N. M. Horsfall, *JRS* 63 (1973), 68 ff.

advehitur Teucros (136) is confusing: it appears to suggest the *alternative* story, that *Teucer* was Troy's 'first founder' and already established when Dardanus arrived. This version had been preferred by Anchises (*A.* 3.104 ff.) and proved wrong by the event.

134 **primus (pater...et auctor)**: here and at 269 *primusque Potitius auctor, primus* is used with an adverbial meaning, 'originally', reinforcing the idea of initiation in *auctor.* Pleonastic expressions with *primus* are common, cf. *A.* 4.284 *prima exordia* and Austin's note.

135 **Electra...Atlantide**: cf. Ap. Rh. 1.916 νῆσον ἐς Ἠλέκτρης Ἀτλαντίδος.

ut Grai perhibent: a source which Evander would hardly question.

138 ff. Mercury's antecedents were established beyond dispute: Hesiod, *Theogony* 938 Ζηνὶ δ' ἄρ' Ἀτλαντὶς Μαίη τέκε κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν. Maia was a mountain-nymph of Cyllene before becoming the brightest (*candida,* 'gleaming') star of the Pleiades cluster, which included also her sisters Electra and Dione. Cf. *G.* 1.221 ff. where she represents the whole group of *Atlantides* = Pleiades.

138 **vobis** (sc. *Arcadibus*) *Mercurius pater est*: the cult of Hermes at Pheneus (165), in a valley west-north-west of Mt Cyllene, was famous in antiquity, cf. Cicero *Nat. Deorum* 3.56 *Mercurius, quem colunt Pheneates* (distinguished by *him* from *Mercurius Iove...natus et Maia*). Hermes frequently appears on coins of the city: see especially *Greek Coins,* C. M. Kraay and M. Hirmer (London, 1966), Plate 160, no. 515, Hermes carrying *Arcas. pater,* here, cannot mean 'male parent'. Dion. Hal. 1.31.1 and Pausanias 8.43.2 regard Evander as *son* of Hermes-Mercury; Virgil is not so explicit about the relationship, probably for stemmatic reasons, see above on 134 ff.

139 *Cyllene,* in north-eastern Arcadia, rises about 2,375 metres above the valley in which Pheneus lies. Because of its altitude it is cold even in summer, when snow still sometimes stays on the peak (*gelido...vertice,* cf. *Priapea* 75.10 *Cyllene...nivosa*): the same is true of the other mountainous regions of Arcadia (159).

(The present tense of the variant *fundit* is not objectionable (see the

note on *generat* 141), but not preferable to *fudit* which has greater MS support.)

140 f. **Atlas**: note the repetition to secure emphasis; cf. *me, me* 144, *ne...ne* 532, *nunc, nunc* 579, *contra...contraque* 699, *omnibus...omnibus* 718, and see the note on anaphora 564 ff.

141 **generat**: the present indicative is often used (where English uses a simple past) in cataloguing contexts. This use has obvious affinities with the historic present but is important enough to constitute a separate category. It is found in lists of items, e.g. *A.* 9.266 *cratera antiquum quem dat Sidonia Dido*; and more particularly in lists of ancestors and genealogical contexts (as here and *A.* 10.517 ff. *Sulmone creatos / quattuor hic iuvenes, totidem quos educat Ufens, / viventis rapit*; Livy 1.3.6 *Silvius deinde regnat;...is Aeneam Silvium creat*). As this idiom only comes into vogue with the Augustan poets, it is certainly an adaptation of the exactly corresponding Greek usage with verbs connected with birth, e.g. Eur. *Bacchae* 2 *Διόνυσος, ὃν τίκτει ποθ' ἡ Κάδμου κόρη*. See *LHSz* 2, 306.

142 **scindit se**: 'divides itself' into streams; the Romans thought of 'family rivers' rather than 'family trees', cf. Ovid *Met.* 15.739 with Statius *Th.* 1.225 f.

143 f. 'Relying on these facts, I decided not to put you to a preliminary test through ambassadors or diplomacy.' Note the interwoven word-order. *per* governs both *legatos* and *artem*, but is placed before the second only; cf. *A.* 5.512 *illa Notos atque alta volans in nubila fugit*, *A.* 6.692, Horace *Odes* 3.25.2; further examples are assembled by A. E. Housman, *CQ* 10 (1916), 149 = *The Collected Classical Papers* 3, 938. This is better than supposing, with Conington and Page, that *legatos* is the object of *pepigi* by a kind of zeugma (for *pango/paciscor* rarely have a personal object—except the woman who is the 'object' of a marriage covenant), and better than following Henry's suggestion to punctuate after *legatos* and 'supply' with it some such verb as *misi*. H. W. Garrod, *CR* 24 (1910), 119 f. ingeniously removed the difficulty by suggesting a parenthesis: *his fretus non legatos* (*neque prima per artem / temptamenta tui pepigi*) *me me ipse meumque / obieci caput*. Such a parenthesis *may* be reconcilable with the formally prepared style of the speech.

After presenting his credentials, Aeneas is speaking in a rather high-flown diplomatic tone: the abstract plural *temptamenta* is a coinage of Virgil's own (see the note on 89 *luctamen*), and *pango* in its various forms has a ring of legal formality.

143 **prima** is here virtually equivalent in sense to the adverb *prius*, 'beforehand'; cf. *A.* 6.152 f. *sedibus hunc refer ante suis et conde sepulcro. / duc nigras pecudes; ea prima piacula sunto*, and see Wagner, *QV* 28, 3(*d*).

144 f. **me, me ipse meumque / obieci caput**: 'I personally put myself and my individual freedom in jeopardy'; Conington compares Soph. *O.C.* 750 *ἀεί σε κηδεύουσα καὶ τὸ σὸν κάρα*. Primitive Roman belief held that the head was the source of procreative power; and, more important, that it was the seat of a man's essential personality and of his power of self-determi-

nation: this latter is very evident in legal phrases like *deminutio capitis* and *capitis damnare*, and underlies Virgil's use of the word here, and at 484 and 570. See further R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought*[2], Index *s.v. caput*. So at *A*. 2.751 *caput obiectare periclis* the dangers include not only death but capture and enslavement.

144 **me ipse**: *me* is elided more than any other monosyllable in the *Aeneid*, but then only 28 times in the whole poem; cf. in this book *me excidiumque* (386), and see the note on *tum* 503.

146 **Daunia** here = *Rutula*. The Daunus who in *Virgil's* account of the myth is father of Turnus and Juturna (*A*. 10.615 ff., 688, etc.), is to be distinguished from Daunus the eponymous king of Daunia, a name of prehistoric Apulia (cf. Horace *Odes* 3.30.11 f., 4.14.25 f.), who welcomed the immigrant Diomedes and gave his daughter in marriage to him (Ovid *Met*. 14.456 ff., 510 f.).

147 **insequitur**: a sense pause within the line itself occurs most frequently in Virgil at the strong caesura in the third foot, and next most frequently at the strong caesura in the fourth foot; next (*longo sed... intervallo*) in frequency is the pause after the first long syllable (i.e. at the strong caesura) in the second foot. Before this last pause a *single word* may be either a choriambus or a molossus (there are sixteen and fifteen instances respectively in *A*. 8), and is very often a verb-form, whose sense *may* be reinforced by the rhythm (but obviously a pause of such frequent occurrence does not always have a descriptive effect); with *insequitur* here before a pause, with meaning and rhythm supporting each other, compare *protrahitur* 265, *distulerant* 643.

149 I.e. *et teneant mare quod supra adluit quodque infra* (*adluit*); here *teneant* has 'overstepped' into the relative clause (hyperbaton). *mare superum* = the Adriatic, *mare inferum* = the Tyrrhene sea. The line is substantially repeated from *G*. 2.158; its genuineness is above suspicion in both places.

150 Ennius *Ann*. 32 V *Accipe daque fidem foedusque feri bene firmum* (perhaps Aeneas speaking to the king of Alba Longa). We do not need to follow Norden (*Ennius und Vergilius* 162, n. 3) either in his certainty that the line of Ennius necessarily ended Aeneas' speech, or his view that Virgil has spoiled its powerful effect by adding to it. Virgil could hardly have taken the line over wholesale: neither its forceful (but unsubtle) alliteration, nor its ending with three disyllables could have been blended with his usual manner: he takes Ennius' 'theme', but for his 'variation' substitutes a recommendation rather than a restatement. In any case, the already existing ties of family guest-friendship, stressed by Evander (169), quite apart from the relationship established by the family-tree, make the second half of Ennius' line inappropriate.

151 **pectora**: Virgil is quite fond of neuter plural nouns as dactylic-word beginnings of a hexameter; often they are followed by a pause of some kind, as here and *pocula* 176 (very slight), *saecula* 325 (heavy), *funera* 571 (light), *munera* 613 (heavy), *moenia* 715 (light); such additional emphasis as they sometimes have when followed by a pause is due to their

position as the last word in a clause and first in the verse, not to their dactylic rhythm as such (contrast the note on 87 *leniit*).

151 **spectata** = 'tried and tested', = *probata*, as commonly in Cicero.

152–174 *Evander recognises Aeneas from his likeness to his father Anchises whom he had met and befriended in Arcadia. He promises to arrange help for Aeneas on the following day, and invites the Trojans in the meantime to join in the sacrifice as allies.*

152 **dixerat**: this 'absolute' use of the pluperfect as the only verb of the sentence in which it stands is best explained with reference to the normal use of the tense: the perfect stem denotes completed action, the pluperfect tense completed action *prior* to the time of some part of the surrounding context. The idiom is well illustrated by Prop. 2.8.10 *et Thebae steterant altaque Troia fuit* which strictly means 'and Thebes had stood (= has *ceased* to stand) and towering Troy has been (= exists no longer, is a thing of the past)'. So here *dixerat* = '*finished* speaking'. See *KS* I, 139 f., and on *dixerat* as a formula, Norden on *A.* 6.633 and Anhang I.3 (p. 374).

153 **iamdudum...lustrabat**: Latin and the Romance languages stress the nearer aspect of a continuous action, English the remoter; so to describe what had been and was still going on Latin uses an imperfect, English a pluperfect (the pluperfect and the perfect in Latin could not be used to express the idea because they denote *completed* action, see the previous note). The continuity is often stressed by the addition of *iam* + *dudum, pridem,* or *diu.*

lustrabat: see the note on 229.

153 **lumine**, 'with his eyes', an exceptionally bold use of the collective singular. At *A.* 3.677 f. *cernimus astantis nequiquam lumine torvo / Aetnaeos fratres, lumine* should probably be taken strictly: Polyphemus' brothers had only one eye like himself. But Evander was not *luscus*. No doubt the metre and the sound-echo in lu*mine* lu*strabat* encouraged Virgil to be bold (cf. *A.* 2.754, and to Austin's references there add Ovid *Met.* 10.293 f. (Pygmalion's statue charmed into life) *timidumque ad lumina lumen / attollens pariter cum caelo vidit amantem*). But *lumen* does not belong to any of the usual categories of collective singular (two are mentioned in the notes to 599 and 705 f.).

157 ff. 'For I remember that Priam the son of Laomedon, while on a visit to the kingdom of his sister Hesione (Salamis was his objective), passed on to visit the chilly territory of Arcadia.' This makes geographical sense of a passage whose expression is not entirely clear (and note the pointless repetition of *visentem...invisere*). *protinus* = 'onward, continuing on the journey'.

The time-reference of the present participles here is as vague as is usually the case with their English equivalents. In Latin they can have future reference (cf. in its context Catullus 11.10 *Caesaris visens* (= *visurus*) *monimenta magni*), but not here: nobody who had sailed from Troy

would 'go on' (*protinus*) to pass through Arcadia 'intending to visit' the island Salamis. Sometimes they do duty for the past participle active which Latin does not have: this would suit both *protinus* and the geography, but to use this idiom in conjunction with the verb *petere* is at the best confusing. Virgil may subconsciously have remembered the structure and phrasing of *A.* 1.619 ff., which deals with the banishment of Hesione's son Teucer to found Cypriot Salamis, where the context gives *petentem* a different and unambiguous sense.

157 ff. Servius *auctus* (on *A.* 3.80 ff., where Anchises is recognised by Anius king of Delos) says that Anchises had visited Anius before the Trojan War to ask whether he should accompany Priam on the journey here referred to. This may be an interesting glimpse into the ramifications of earlier myth which surrounded even the secondary characters, or (more probably) a commentator's attempt to devise such ramifications on the slender basis of the two episodes of recognition (although such recognition from previous hospitality is not uncommon in Homer; see the note on 97 ff. and cf. also *Il.* 3.205 ff.).

157 f. Part of Laomedon's punishment (see the note on 18) was to expose his daughter Hesione to a sea-monster sent by Poseidon; but she was rescued by Hercules and given in marriage to Telamon king of Salamis, to whom she bore Teucer and Telamonian Ajax.

158 Four-word lines (103, 214, 263) are rare enough to be arresting.

160 **prima (iuventas)**: 'my earliest youth'; cf. 517 *primis*...*ab annis.* For the form of the imperfect *vestibat* see the note on 436 *polibant.*

160 Idea and phraseology recall Lucretius 5.888 f. *tum demum puerili aevo florente iuventas / occipit et molli vestit lanugine malas*; the metaphor of 'blooming' goes back to Homer *Od.* 11.319 f. ἀμφοτέρω, πρίν σφωϊν ὑπὸ κροτάφοισιν ἰούλους / ἀνθῆσαι πυκάσαι τε γένυς εὐανθέϊ λάχνῃ.

162 **cunctis altior**: Homeric heroes regularly tower head and shoulders above the rest, like Menelaus and Ajax at *Il.* 3.210 and 227. This may reflect an ethnic difference (Northern origin?) of the conquering Achaean invaders (as maintained by Sir W. Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece, passim*). Hence in Homer they and whatever belongs to them tend to be over life-size, and Virgil continues the tradition, also, for example, at *A.* 7.783 f. See the note on 250 *molaribus.*

163 **Anchises**, like other words which end a sentence and begin a line, sustains heavy emphasis.

163 f. **ardebat amore / compellare**: the basic verbs of wishing, *volo* and *cupio*, have their sense completed by an infinitive at all periods of the language. Verbs of the same basic meaning but stronger emotive force were introduced at various stages (usually by Augustan or later poets) and by analogy constructed with an infinitive: *ardeo* was established by Virgil (although there is an isolated example in Sallust *Iug.* 39.5); *furo* was introduced by Horace, *caleo* and *flagro* by Statius. In the present passage the analogical extension is particularly easy, for *ardebat amore* is equivalent in sense to *ardentissime cupiebat* (or *amabat*). See further *LHSz* 2, 346 f.

165 **Phenei sub moenia**: the inhabitants and other inland Arcadians

ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπύ were provided with sixty ships by Agamemnon to sail to Troy (*Il.* 2.603 ff.). According to Strabo 8.388 (who should not be taken too seriously) little remained of the city in Augustan times.

166 f. **pharetram...chlamydemque**: Greek loan-words fall with natural ease from the Greek Evander. But even without such special appropriateness they had a traditional place in epic: Ennius introduced them, usually without further explanation: e.g. *lychnorum, campsant, bradys* (*Ann.* 323, 328, 423 V). Note also *scyphus, A.* 8.278.

166 **Lycias**: with *pharetram* as well as *sagittas*—a feasible gift for someone to bring from the neighbouring Troad; but the adjective is partly ornamental—Camilla too has a 'Lycian quiver', *A.* 7.816.

167 **intertextam**: according to Norden 446, the seven instances of spondeiazons in Virgil which are not echoes of either Greek or earlier Roman poetry (see the note on 54 *Pallanteum*) achieve some special effect by their rhythm. This is a plausible view, for the only example of a spondeiazon of any kind in the most finished books of the *Aeneid* (2, 4, 6) clearly aims at such an effect: *A.* 2.68 *constitit atque oculis Phrygia agmina circumspexit* (Sinon slowly surveys the enemy ranks). But what special impression is conveyed here? wonder at the splendour of the cloak (so Norden 446) or the effort of weaving it (so Winbolt 131)? More probably the word is simply treated, through the nearness of *pharetra* and *chlamys*, as another Greek loan-word.

There is nothing to choose in sense or style between *intertextam* and the variant *intertexto*: MS authority favours the former, which would be liable to assimilation to the nearer *auro*.

168 The simple language of the line (although the word-order is interlaced) and its almost entirely homodyned dactylic rhythm are unusual, since no descriptive effect is aimed at; but it contrasts strongly with the preceding line and may be an extreme case of variety for its own sake. Note also the number of words in 166 and 167 on the one hand, and 168 and 169 on the other.

168 **bina**: distributive numerals, 'two *each*', etc., are regularly used in Latin instead of the corresponding cardinal numerals (1) with nouns which have only a plural form (*bina castra*); (2) with the plural of nouns which in the plural have a different meaning from the singular (*binae litterae*, 'two letters'; Servius on this line tells us that Cicero once reprimanded his son for saying *direxi litteras duas*, which in strict usage could only mean 'I despatched two letters of the alphabet'); (3) with nouns of objects forming a pair (Cic. *Verr.* 4.32 *binos* (*scyphos*) *habebam*). *bina frena*, 'a pair of bits' falls into this last class, but poetry exploited the metrical convenience of the distributive form far beyond regular usage, cf. 47 *ter denis*, and note.

169 'And so the pledge (of alliance) which you seek is (already) established through the bond (of friendship).' *ergo* must refer to what immediately precedes: the guest-friendship, confirmed as usual by exchange of gifts, between Evander and Anchises, entails mutual support between Evander and Aeneas; *hospitium* and *amicitia* constitute the *foedus*. This is

the natural interpretation and that of Servius; for others see Conington and Page. The social and political implications of *hospitium* and *amicitia* are discussed by E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* (Oxford, 1958), 11 ff. *mihi* is dative of interest, 'as far as I'm concerned', rather than dative of agent.

171 **auxilio laetos dimittam opibusque iuvabo**: 'Clever Aeschylus has said the same thing twice' is the taunt of Euripides at Aristophanes *Frogs* 1024. The history of repeating oneself is long and venerable. The Hebrew Psalms are full of doublets like 'Fret not thyself because of evil-doers, neither be thou envious against the workers of iniquity. For they shall soon be cut down like the grass, and wither as the green herb' (*Ps.* 37, 1 f.), and their characteristic style depends on the ritual repetitions of the chant (*carmen*). Early *carmina* are often religious, and the solemn repetitions of the same idea ensure that the deity will hear, and not misunderstand. The same scruple operates also when the audience is human, and may not hear or understand the first statement of an idea; and so we find the same mannerism in recited poetry (and all ancient poetry was expected to be read aloud, whether it had a history of oral transmission behind it or not). In Latin poetry it was Virgil who first exploited doublets and triplets of this kind to such an extent that they became the chief feature of his style. The mannerism of connecting two or more statements (verbs) referring to the same idea is obviously closely allied to the same connection with nouns (see the note on 436); but the chief impetus to develop this technique probably came from Virgil's study of Homer, who not only employs tautologous doublets like τελευτήσῃς τε καὶ ἔρξῃς (*Od.* 1.293), but also coordinates two or more verbs when the relationship is not purely connective (see Stanford, *Odyssey* pref. p. lxxxi *parataxis* and his note on *Od.* 10.310-20).

Lucretius' *usual* manner had been hypotactic, to string over a number of hexameters the subordinated periods of prose (see Norden Anhang 11.2): perhaps necessary to the subtlety of didactic, but cumbersome, inelegant, and straining to the reader (listener). Virgil's practice was continued by Ovid in descriptive passages (see A. G. Lee, *Metamorphoses* 1, intro. 25 f.), but rhetorical elaboration for its own sake begins to make itself felt, and in Lucan 'theme and variation' often assume the appearance of two complementary riddles (e.g. 5.383 f., 7.512 f.). Of numerous examples in this book, cf., for example, 439, 598 f.

Dido also fulfils the claims of *hospitium* regally, and in almost the same words, *A*. 1.571 *auxilio tutos dimittam opibusque iuvabo*; there the ship-wrecked Trojans needed protection (*tutos*), here Aeneas and his followers need the increase in morale which extra reinforcements would bring (*laetos*).

172 f. A clear reminiscence of Peisistratus' words to Mentor (the disguised Athene and Telemachus' companion) in *Od.* 3.43 ff.; cf. especially *Od.* 3.44 τοῦ γὰρ (sc. Ποσειδάωνος) καὶ δαίτης ἠντήσατε δεῦρο μολόντες.

172 f. Strangers were not welcome to the Romans at religious functions; they were unfamiliar and so dangerous. But the Trojans were not strangers, as Virgil emphasises (*amici* 172, *sociorum* 174), and Hercules was in any case a very hospitable god.

173 **faventes**: Servius *auctus* is no doubt right to see an echo of the religious formula *favete linguis* (repeated by Horace in *Odes* 3.1.2), εὐφημεῖτε, which amounted to an order for silence, the effective way of preventing *any* words of ill omen.

celebrate faventes is another echo of Dido's welcome (*A.* 1.735).

175-183 *Aeneas is given the place and portion of honour at the sacrificial banquet.*

175 **haec ubi dicta**: cf. 337 *vix ea dicta*; the omission of *est* or *sunt* as here in a compound tense *and* in a subordinate clause is not common before Virgil (see Austin's note on *A.* 2.634 and his reference to Leo, *Senecae Tragoediae* 1.188 f.). Virgil exploited it to devise formulae of rapid transition; compare the omission of *sunt* in prose expressions like *sed haec vetera; illud vero recens* (Cic. *Phil.* 2.25); *haec admirabilia, sed prodigii simile est quod dicam* (*Lig.* 11). In *A.* 8, cf. the similar omissions after *postquam* (184), and *ut* (191, 362).

The pause after a trochaic word in the second foot which these formulae carry with them is something of a rarity; but it occurs also at 396 *quo tibi, diva, mei* (which recalls Lucretius 1.38 *hunc tu, diva*).

175 **dapes** (and 186): Servius on *A.* 3.224 says *dapes deorum sunt, epulae hominum*, but the original distinction was blurred in course of time. *Daps* originally meant simply a meal offered to an unseen spirit, but when the Romans adopted the practice of animal sacrifice, in which a portion of the animal was offered to the god and the flesh was allocated to the worshippers, *dapes* and *epulae* came to be applied inclusively to both (see further Bailey *RV* 51 ff.).

176 **sedili...solio** (178): Servius suggests that the choice of 'seats' is a good one, because a *lectisternium* (the ritual spreading of a *couch* with the image of the god on it) was not allowed 'in the temple of Hercules' (he must mean at the Ara Maxima itself and the nearby shrines, for at other cult-centres in the city it did take place); the same information is given from Cornelius Balbus by Macrobius 3.6.16 who adds *propria observatio est in Herculis sacris epulari sedentes.* Virgil may have had this custom in mind (*toro* 177 in context hardly means a piece of furniture).

177 f. 'and he welcomes Aeneas to the place of honour on a cushion and shaggy lion-skin, and entertains him on a maple-wood chair.' *invitat* (cf. *se invitare*, 'to enjoy oneself') is a near-synonym of *accipit* (cf. *A.* 7.210 f. *solio...accipit*); the ablative with both simultaneously expresses means and place.

The lion-skin hints strongly at Hercules' customary garb.

177 *torus* (perhaps connected with *sterno*) was first used to mean 'a strand of rope' (Cato *R.R.* 135.4), then 'a bulge' of a plaited rope (so *E-M*), then 'a bulge' of any kind: a bank of earth, a muscle of the body, a cushion (and hence a couch). Here *toro* is the cushion of the chair over which the lion-skin is spread: the structure of the similar 367 f. suggests that it is not a case of hendiadys.

179 **lecti iuvenes**: 'chosen', presumably, according to the taboo-qualifications still in force in Virgil's day for participating in certain religious functions, notably aristocratic birth (the point of *et tollens apicem* generoso *vertice flamen*, Lucan 1.604) and both parents still alive (see the note on the Salii, 663 f.).

180 **viscera**: *non intestina tantum, sed quidquid sub corio est*, Servius on *A*. 1.211.

181 **dona laboratae Cereris Bacchumque ministrant**: it is almost impossible to translate this into English accurately without being grotesque. The phrase *means* that they serve bread and wine. The metonymic use of *Ceres* and *Bacchus* to mean bread and wine respectively had long since been established in Latin poetry (since Naevius): Lucretius 2.655 ff., thinking of this and similar usages, allowed such 'abuses' as poetic diction, but of course warned against believing in the reality of the gods concerned; the Stoics had actually come to interpret the names of gods as personifications of things (cf. Cic. *Nat. Deorum* 1.40). The diction of Virgil's phrase is made more stilted by the addition of *laboratae*, which refers not, as Servius thought, to the labour of growing corn, but to the labour of grinding and kneading it into bread. A similar periphrasis occurs at *A*. 1.177 f. *tum Cererem corruptam undis Cerealiaque arma / expediunt...*, where 'Ceres spoiled by the waves and the tools of Ceres' means in plain English soggy corn and grinding-mills. On this line Servius remarks: *fugiens vilia ad generalitatem transiit propter carminis dignitatem et rem vilem auxit honestate sermonis*, and his explanation is undoubtedly correct and of wide application. Virgil took no greater pains to avoid anything than undignified commonplaces and vulgarities of expression, *sordida vocabula*, in the *Aeneid*. In fact the ordinary word for bread, *panis*, occurs in no poem certainly written by Virgil (it is however found at l. 117 of the *Moretum*, which was once thought to have been written by him).

Homer seems to have been quite unselfconscious about what he described and how he described it; he is direct and unselective. But although there is dung in the courtyard of Odysseus' palace (*Od*. 17.296 ff.), and the dog which is lying in it is infested with fleas, Homer declines to call a flea a flea, but speaks instead of κυνοραιστέων 'dog-ravagers'. If this is not deliberately mock-heroic, it is an exceptional instance of that tendency to dignify the undignified which Virgil exalted to a cardinal principle of epic. As a sensitive member of a mannered society he was probably led to do this by his own natural delicacy; but his practice degenerated into affected mannerism in his own Roman successors, and paved the way for the dislocated values of the Baroque age (see Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition* (Oxford, 1951), 272 ff. and notes).

183 f. **perpetui tergo bovis** is Virgil's attempt to convey in Latin the Greek διηνεκῆ νῶτα βοός (cf. in an applied critical sense, *carmen perpetuum* Horace *Odes* 1.7.6 and Ovid *Met*. 1.4 with ἄεισμα διηνεκές Callimachus frg. 1.3 Pfeiffer), but he has given a typical twist to the expression by introducing hypallage (transferred epithet), for the adjective *perpetui* properly belongs to *tergo*. Even so, Virgil's phrase is hardly so quaintly artificial as

Dryden's translation 'Beefs continu'd Chine'. Translate: 'the undivided back of an ox'.

In *Il.* 7.313 ff. Agamemnon sacrifices a five-year-old ox to Zeus and gives this portion of the animal to Ajax alone as a mark of honour (after his duel with Hector): 321 *νώτοισιν δ' Αἴαντα διηνεκέεσσι γέραιρεν.* But the situation which Virgil is likely to have had in mind here is the sacrifice by Eumaeus of the best *swine* in his herd (*Od.* 14.414 ff.) and his similar honouring of the unrecognised Odysseus (437 f. *νώτοισιν δ' Ὀδυσῆα διηνεκέεσσι γέραιρεν / ἀργιόδοντος ὑός, κύδαινε δὲ θυμὸν ἄνακτος*). Other features too of Evander's hospitality recall that of Eumaeus. Both hosts are in humble circumstances, both go out of their way to honour their guests; Odysseus is offered a seat spread with a shaggy wild goat's skin (*Od.* 14.50), and a bed of sheepskins and goatskins (*Od.* 14.519): Aeneas is offered a seat spread with lion-skin (177), and a bed of leaves and Libyan bear-skin (367 f.). Virgil has lent the details a certain picturesque dignity, for a king (however humble) is not a swineherd (however noble).

Line 184 is Virgil's recasting of the Homeric formula *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἕντο* which occurs after both the feasts mentioned in the preceding note (*Il.* 7.323; *Od.* 14.454), and often elsewhere. Similarly, Virgil had already used the first half of his line at *A.* 1.216.

183 '...on the undivided back and entrails of a fattened, five-year-old ox.' Here the *exta* are eaten by the worshippers, after the Greek heroic custom (in both Greek and Latin epic; cf., for example, Homer *Od.* 3.9 and Val. Fl. 2.347 f.). But this is also an authentic and traditional part of the *Graecus ritus* of the *Ara Maxima* cult (Livy 1.7.13). (In Roman sacrifice, the *exta* were first cooked and then placed on the altar and burnt: this was the *god's* share of the meal; man's share was the *viscera tosta*, all the rest of the animal roasted.)

lustralibus suggests at first sight a connection with *lustratio*, a ceremony of purification; it has this sense of 'expiating' or 'cleansing' at Lucan 6.786 and Val. Fl. 3.414 f. But such a meaning would be pointless here. Warde Fowler (*ASR ad loc.*) takes the adjective to indicate that 'the *exta* were holy, as having been on the altar', but it is hardly likely that anything which had been so consecrated for divine consumption should then be eaten by humans.

lustralibus here should be taken = 'five-years-old': (1) the preceding part of this, and the whole of the next line are inspired by Homer: precedent for *lustralibus* is suggested by passages like *Il.* 2.402 f. *αὐτὰρ ὁ βοῦν ἱέρευσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων / πίονα πενταέτηρον ὑπερμενέϊ Κρονίωνι*; (2) Latin has no word for 'five-year-old' in the numeral series usually applied to animals (*bimus, trimus, quadrimus*); Virgil gives that sense to *lustralibus* here—*nova cacozelia* again—on the basis of its connection not with the primary sense of *lustrum*, 'purification', but its secondary meaning, 'a period of five years'; (3) if we can believe Servius' note here and the clearer version of it by Lactantius Placidus on Statius *Th.* 1.507, *lustralia pecora* were animals reared during the course of a *lustrum* specifically to be sacrificed at its end, when the censors 'buried' it; they were therefore

fattened—a secondary notion, but probably present in the context here as well.

184-199 *Evander explains the origin of the ceremony. He points to a shattered cliff face where there was once the cave of Cacus, a fire-breathing monster who used to terrorise Evander's settlement.*

184 ff. After the first (meat) course (*mensae primae*) of a banquet it was customary for silence to be ordered (so Servius *auctus* on *A.* 1.730), no doubt so that the *magister epularum* could make a prayer (which he might have to begin with *favete linguis*); he then made a libation in which the company joined, and this was followed by general drinking and possibly also by entertainment. This is the sequence at Dido's banquet in *A.* 1.723 ff., and is also the basic scheme here although much extended and elaborated: Evander makes prayer and libation (273 ff.) after the Cacus narration, and the entertainment, accommodated to the ritual, is the hymn to Hercules (285 ff.). For the problem of *mensa secunda* 283 see the note there.

187 **superstitio** means more than 'superstition'; it refers to anything outside established religious observance (see Warde Fowler, *RE* 106). Cicero considered *superstitio* an evident threat to the solidity of the State: *ut religio propaganda etiam est...sic superstitionis stirpes omnes eligendae* (*Div.* 2.149). *vana* is explained by *veterumque ignara deorum*: Virgil makes Evander speak like an orthodox supporter of the Augustan religious programme. Some foreign cults were introduced under the auspices of the State (the worship of *Cybele, Magna Mater,* was so introduced from Asia Minor during the Second Punic War), those that were not (like the cult of Isis, see the note on 698) were regarded as a threat to traditional forms of worship, and often also as morally subversive (*quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque,* says Tacitus on the arrival of Christianity in Rome (*Ann.* 15.44)). The spiritual and emotional poverty of the Roman state religion itself was the cause of the spread of new cults, but the Romans hardly thought of orthodox religion in those terms.

189 **honores** may be the common object of both *facimus* (cf. *A.* 5.762 f. *et aris / factus honos*) and *novamus*; but *facio* was used intransitively from the earliest times = 'I sacrifice' (as by Virgil at *E.* 3.77).

novamus cannot mean 'we institute' here: *sollemnem* (*honorem*) 102 and *ex illo* 268 rule out the idea that this was the inaugural ceremony; the simple verb is being used for the compound (*renovamus*), 'we begin anew', after Virgil's manner.

190 **iam primum**: *iam* is often used in conversational narrative to mark the transition to a new point; Virgilian examples are collected by Wagner, *QV* 24, 9 (he however curiously assigns a temporal meaning to the present passage, '*antequam ad alia pergamus*'—but what could the *alia* be?). *iam primum* here means something like 'now then, to begin with...', and introduces an ἔκφρασις (picked up by *hic* in 193) in a more

colloquial way than the usual *est rupes* and the like (see the note on 597). The MS variant *iam pridem* is acceptable syntactically with the imperative *aspice* (cf. *A.* 2.103 *iamdudum sumite poenas*), but the sense 'do look, as you should have long since' is not compellingly appropriate.

190 ff. **aspice...disiectae...ut moles (sunt)...stat...traxere**: *indicatives* in an indirect question; contrast Horace *Odes* 1.9.1 f. *vides ut alta stet nive candidum / Soracte...?* Virgil's paratactic manner made it easy for him to adopt a form of expression current in the older language, where the *ut* clause was felt to be neither indirect nor a question, but a direct exclamation (cf. *A.* 8.154-6); cf. *G.* 1.56 f., *A.* 6.771 f., 779 f., 855 f.

(This construction, frequent in comedy, is absent, probably by accident, in the surviving fragments of Ennius' *Annales* (see E. M. Steuart, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius* 116); it appears intermittently in the old-fashioned diction of Catullus' marriage-poems (see Fordyce on Catullus 61.77 f.), and persisted in colloquial speech even through the classical period, e.g. in Cicero's letters. The influence on it of the regular *Greek* use of the indicative in indirect questions is likely to have been negligible: disregard Norden on *A.* 6.615.)

190 ff. Other authorities (Diodorus 4.21.2; Plutarch *Romulus* 20, 4) suggest that Cacus' cave and the *scalae Caci* were on the Palatine. What authority, if any, Virgil had for locating the *spelunca* on the Aventine (cf. 230 ff.) we do not know (see Münzer 89 ff.); his motive was to coordinate the position of the cave with the fact that in the myth as organised by him the Palatine had already been settled by Evander, and that the Aventine had a special connection with Hercules and took its name from his son who was born there (*A.* 7.655 ff.). It is possible that the cave had not been precisely localised even by Augustan antiquarians and more than one claimed the association (as was apparently the case with the *casa Romuli*, see the note on 654). The statement of Solinus (1.7 f.) (third century A.D.), that Cacus' dwelling was at the Salinae, the later site of the Porta Trigemina (at the north corner of the Aventine) may go back to Varro. No visible traces of the 'steps' remain, but the path associated with them which leads from the Palatine down to the valley of the Circus Maximus, and whose top is very near the *casa Romuli*, has been identified, Nash 2.299 f.

191 f. **deserta...montis...domus**: 'a derelict mountain home', Cacus' cavern.

192 **ingentem**: *ingens* (which has already occurred in this book at 43) is Virgil's favourite adjective: it occurs 168 times in the *Aeneid*, an average of once every 59 lines, a constant reminder of the heroic stature of everything in the epic poem (it does not occur in the *Eclogues*). Henry's notorious note on *A.* 5.118 suggests that Virgil uses it quite indiscriminately, but Conway (on *A.* 1.453) more perceptively points out that its concentration in certain passages can hardly be accidental: he might have added to his examples the fact that five of the fourteen occurrences in this book are in the Cacus-narration 190-267. Similarly *immanis* (also absent from the *Eclogues*) occurs three times in this book, twice (225, 245) in the

Cacus-narration. And one should not forget the undertone of strangeness in *ingens* and monstrosity in *immanis*.

193 **vasto**: the primary sense of *vastus*, connected with English 'waste' and Latin *vacuus* and *vanus*, is 'desolate' (this is evident in the verb *vastare*, at *A*. 8.8 and 374). Perhaps by association with tracts of barren land or the sea, it came to mean 'huge, vast', the usual meaning in Virgil; but he is fond of applying it to caves (here, 217, 424), perhaps with undertones of its basic sense.

194 **semihominis**: adapted to hexameters by treating the *i* as semi-consonantal (see the note on 599 *abiete*); the vowel of the preceding syllable is in any case long by nature (*semi-* ~ Greek ἡμι-), cf., for example, Catullus 61.213 *semihiante* (sēmjĭāntĕ) *labello*, and Aulus Gellius' friend (*N.A.* 19.11.3 f.), *οὐκ ἄμουσος adulescens*, who wrote *cum semihiulco* (sēmjĭūlcō) *savio / meum puellum savior*.

194 **Caci facies**: this kind of periphrasis, not very common in Latin poetry (outside the *Ilias Latina*) is a cliché of Greek tragedy and epic, or at least tended to become one; appropriately used, the periphrasis draws attention to the aspect of the individual most relevant to the context, cf., for example, *Il*. 5.781 f. *ἕστασαν, ἀμφὶ βίην Διομήδεος ἱπποδάμοιο / εἰλόμενοι*; Soph. *Ant*. 1 *Ὦ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα*; Soph. *O.C*. 1568 f. *σῶμά τ' ἀνικάτου θηρός*; but at *Od*. 2.409 *τοῖσι* (sc. *ἑταίροις*) *δὲ καὶ μετέειφ' ἱερὴ ἲς Τηλεμάχοιο* 'the formidable might of Telemachus' is hardly appropriate to describe the callowness of his still unformed character, which Homer seems at pains to portray. Ennius introduced this formula into Latin epic: he is quoted by Varro (*L.L.* 7.42) as using the phrase *suavis sonus Egeriai* (*Ann*. 119 V).

Caci mens (205) is a formula of exactly the same type, and cf. *A*. 2.601 *Tyndaridis facies*, *A*. 9.272 f. *lectissima matrum / corpora*.

194 **tenebat**, 'used to occupy', see the note on 657. The variant *tegebat* has overwhelming MS support and is kept by Sabbadini, who explains thus: *tegebat inaccessam: i.e. ita tectam servabat, custodiebat, ut inaccessa esset, sc. solis radiis subtrahebat; deinde ab Hercule detecta est, v. 241*. This is unconvincing: Cacus might conceivably be said to protect the cave which more naturally and appropriately would be said to shelter *him*, but hardly to keep it out of the sunlight. But the conception of Cacus protecting his cave is itself strained and implausible. We must suppose that a copyist's error (of one letter only) was made very early in the tradition. It is no objection to *tenebat* that *tenebant* occurs very shortly afterwards at 204: there is an even closer repetition of exactly the same words at 653 and 657.

195 **inaccessam** is a new coinage of Virgil's, used only here and *A*. 7.11 *inaccessos...lucos* (where Servius comments *inaccessibiles, inaccedendos, non ad quos nullus accessit*). Virgil, unlike Servius, favoured only formations in *-bilis* from first conjugation verbs; but the meaning they bear could also be borne by the past participle (see the note on 588 *conspectus*, and cf., for example, the instructive line *A*. 5.591 *indeprensus et inremeabilis error* 'undetectable and unretraceable'). Virgil has many new formations with negative *in-* and past participle (see the note on 82 *concolor*

(17)), where the participle is regularly formed from a transitive verb; but *accessus* from the intransitive *accedo* does not exist, and is comparable only with *errata* (*A*. 3.690), *regnata* (*A*. 3.14, 6.793) and the like (see Austin on *ululata A*. 4.609). After Virgil *inaccessus* is found in poetry in Silius (3.516) and Statius (*Ach*. 1.599) and passed into later unliterary prose.

195 **(spelunca)...solis inaccessam radiis**: the ultimate parent of these sunless caverns may be the lair of the boar which scarred Odysseus, *Od*. 19.441 *οὔτε μιν* (sc. *τὴν λόχμην*) *Ἠέλιος φαέθων ἀκτῖσιν ἔβαλλεν*.

196 **foribus...superbis**: the adjective (from *super*) may here keep part of its basic physical sense, 'towering' (as at *A*. 7.630 *Tiburque superbum*), although this is rare compared with the moral sense 'overbearing'.

196 f. This practice of Cacus is transferred to the Thracian Diomedes by Ovid (*Her*. 9.89 *Threiciis adfixa penatibus ora*), for any atrocities could be ascribed to the heavy-drinking Thracians (cf. Horace *Odes* 1.18.9 ff. and 1.27.1 f.).

197 **pallida**: Bentley, in his note on Lucan 2.166 proposed *squalida* (itself the original reading of the Medicean MS here), on the ground that *tabum* is *atrum* (cf. *A*. 9.471 f. *simul ora virum praefixa movebant / nota nimis miseris atroque fluentia tabo*), and faces cannot be 'pale' with something that is black. This is sophistical preciseness; Virgil's compressed *pallida tabo* means that the faces were sallow with decay *and* partly covered with gore, cf. Ovid *Met*. 15.627 *pallidaque exsangui squalebant corpora tabo*.

pallidus = 'yellowish', often used of unhealthy discoloration: see Fordyce on Catullus 81.4.

198 The original nature and attributes of Cacus and his feminine doublet Caca are unknown beyond what can be inferred from Servius' notes. Their worship seems to have disappeared before the fixing of the earliest calendar of festivals, and only the *scalae Caci* leading from the neighbourhood of the Ara Maxima to the Palatine (and perhaps also the *Caci atrium*, see Hülsen in *PW* 3.1165 *s.v.*) preserved any memory of them. On *A*. 8.190 Servius says *Cacus secundum fabulam Vulcani filius fuit, ore ignem ac fumum vomens, qui vicina omnia populabatur*, but there is no reason to believe that this derives from a source earlier than Virgil himself; in the same note Servius mentions a *sacellum* of Caca, *in quo ei pervigili igne sicut Vestae sacrificabatur* (so the best MS; the others give *in quo ei per virgines Vestae sacrificabatur*), but Vesta was not the only deity in Greco-Roman religion worshipped with an everlasting fire, and one cannot infer with certainty that there was a closer parallel. It is at best a possibility that Cacus and Caca were the male and female fire-spirits of the early Palatine settlement: it has also been inferred from the fact that he was a cave-dweller that Cacus was a chthonic power of the dead and the underworld.

The myth of Hercules and Cacus. The legend which connects Hercules and Cacus is first found in Livy 1.7 and here, and is unlikely to be older than the first century B.C. It is an aetiological myth, designed to explain why certain old features of the city were near together, the *forum boarium* (cattle market), a shrine of Hercules Invictus, an altar of Jupiter In-

ventor at the Porta Trigemina and perhaps also a cult of Evander not far from there (cf. Dion. Hal. 1.32.2 *Εὐάνδρῳ θυσίας ἔμαθον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτελουμένας ... πρὸς ... Αὐεντίνῳ ... τῆς Τριδύμου πύλης οὐ πρόσω*), and the *scalae Caci*. To draw these elements together into one myth was not a difficult task. Hercules in possession of cattle was already supplied by the Greek myth of Geryon (201 ff.); his reputation as a monster-killer required a monster to kill (Cacus) and a sufferer to be relieved (Evander); but he clearly had to be wronged—obviously by Cacus' stealing of his cattle, a *motif* supplied from the Greek myth of Hermes and Apollo; and being uncertain where to find the cattle naturally prayed to Jupiter Inventor (this last detail is not mentioned by Virgil but was an obvious extension: an altar to Jupiter erected at Tibur in the time of Augustus or Tiberius bears the inscription *Iovi Praestiti Hercules Victor dicavit, CIL* 14.3555).

Of other authors who deal with the Cacus-Hercules myth, Propertius (4.9.1 ff.) and Ovid (*Fasti* 1.543 ff.) are clearly dependent on Virgil; Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.39 and 42.2 f.) is independent, as also is Livy (1.7.3 ff.), who may even have been Virgil's source (see A. Santoro, *I problemi della composizione dell'Eneide: Livio fonte di Virgilio* (Altamura, 1938), 8 ff.).

Attempts were also made to rationalise the myth on euhemerist lines, by reducing Cacus to a local baron (Cn. Gellius in Solinus 1.8), or Hercules to a shepherd of overpowering strength named Garanus (Verrius Flaccus, an Augustan antiquarian, cited by Servius on *A*. 8.203).

See further Wissowa *RuK*[2] 283 f.; Latte *RRG* 221; Münzer, *Cacus der Rinderdieb* (Basel, 1911).

198 f. **atros...ignis**: flames with black smoke, but in many contexts *ater* means as much 'deadly' as 'black' (see Pease's note on *A*. 4.384 for its constant connection with the flames of the funeral pyre).

198 The Volcanal, at the foot of the Capitoline hill at the north-west corner of the Forum Romanum, was no doubt inaugurated as a cult-centre of the god in very early times, when it lay outside the boundary of the primitive Palatine settlement. But interest in it, as in other ancient relics, seems to have revived in Augustan times, and Augustus himself dedicated a pedestal to Vulcan in 9 B.C. (*CIL* 6.457). So the fathering of Vulcan on Cacus could also be related to 'pre-urban' monuments. See further Platner-Ashby *s.v.*, and the pictures of what may be its remains in Nash 2, 517 ff.

Note the bucolic diaeresis, which here stresses the antithesis between *huic* and *illius*.

199 **magna se mole ferebat**, 'moved with massive bulk'; cf. *A*. 3.656 f. *vasta se mole moventem / pastorem Polyphemum. magna* (*vasta*) *mole* are ablatives of manner making adverbial phrases which qualify the verb. Comparable perhaps is the Homeric *μεγαλωστί* at, for example, *Od*. 24.40 *κεῖσο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἱπποσυνάων.*

200-216 *Hercules arrives driving the cattle of Geryon. Four bulls and four heifers are stolen by Cacus who drags them backwards into his cave, hoping that the hoof-prints facing in the opposite direction will prevent discovery. After a vain search Hercules prepares to move on, and the cattle fill the countryside with their lowing.*

200 **aliquando**: 'at length', a prose usage, with or without reinforcement from *tandem*.

201 **auxilium adventumque dei**: noted by Servius as an instance of ὕστερον πρότερον (Hercules must have arrived *before* he could give help). Before Virgil this mannerism was a rarity in Latin poetry; it was traditionally associated with Homer (cf. Cic. *Att.* 1.16.1 *Respondebo tibi* ὕστερον πρότερον Ὁμηρικῶς), and it was no doubt from Homer that Virgil took and developed it (cf., for example, *Od.* 4.50 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα χλαίνας οὔλας βάλον ἠδὲ χιτῶνας and see the Index *s.v.* πρωθύστερον in Stanford's edition); but it is also of course entirely in keeping with his favourite manner of joining two aspects of a complex idea with a simple copula (see the note on 436): sometimes it may be more convenient not to join them in chronological order (here metrical convenience plays a part). See also the note on 611, and contrast the *apparent* cases of ὕστερον πρότερον in the notes on 85 and 125.

202 **tergemini...Geryonae**: the earliest and fullest notice of Γηρυονεύς, Γηρυόνης, or Γηρυών (< γηρύω) 'The Roarer', is in Hesiod *Theogony* 287-94: he was slaughtered by Hercules and robbed of his cattle (the tenth labour in most versions) on the island of Erytheia, later identified with Cadiz. In Hesiod *Theogony* 287 he is τρικέφαλος, but in Aeschylus *Ag.* 870 he is τρισώματος, and this is followed by Lucretius 5.28 *tripectora tergemini vis Geryonai*, and Virgil, *A.* 6.289 *forma tricorporis umbrae*; in art the three-bodied concept is regular from the mid-seventh century B.C. onwards, cf. M. Robertson in *CQ* N.S. 19 (1969), 207 ff.

The gen. *Geryonae* is formed from nom. *Geryones*, like *Anchisae* from *Anchises* (cf. Servius on *A.* 7.662).

203 **Alcides aderat**: Hercules belonged to the generation before the heroes of the Trojan War (cf., for example, *Od.* 8.223 f.), like Anchises and Priam (155 ff.).

203 **hac**: through the area of the *forum boarium*, the cattle-market, which of course came to have its name associated with the cattle of Hercules.

204 **tenebant**, 'were reaching', cf. 657.

205 **furiis** is preferable to the variant *furis* on grounds of sense and style.

(1) It has been argued that *furiis* = 'furious anger', and that this is entirely appropriate to describe Hercules after the theft of the cattle (219 and cf. 228), but is inept to describe Cacus in the present situation. But the word can also mean 'madness' (it is so used of Ajax at *A.* 1.41), like Greek ἄτη: Cacus was out of his mind to attempt such a thing.

(2) It is no objection to *furiis* here that it is repeated at 219, for Virgil is capable of even closer repetitions with no significant point.

(3) Propertius 4.9.11 ff. is clearly influenced by the present passage: *hic, ne certa forent manifestae signa rapinae, / aversos cauda traxit in antra boves, / nec sine teste deo: furem sonuere iuvenci, / furis et implacidas diruit ira fores. furis* may be a direct echo. But Virgil is at pains to represent Cacus as a terrifying monster of evil, not as anything so human and commonplace as a thief.

(4) Heyne objected to *furis* as *vocabulum epica gravitate indignum.* The associations of the word in Roman comedy, where it is often simply a strong term of abuse, lend weight to this objection, which is not sufficiently met, as Mackail thought, by the word's occurrence at *G.* 3.407 (or *E.* 3.16): the *epic Aeneid* has more stringent rules of word-choice.

These reasons outweigh those which support *furis,* viz. (*a*) that although the relative merits of the MS groups which preserve each variant count for little in cases like this where a scribe could so easily have mistaken either for the other, nevertheless *furis* was the only reading known to Servius, and much more likely to have been corrupted into the common *furiis* than vice versa; (*b*) that *furis Caci mens effera* is a periphrasis, identical in form with *semihominis Caci facies...dira* (194), and this may not be purely coincidental.

205 ff. *The theft of Hercules' cattle.* Virgil says little about Hercules himself, and what he does say is carefully selected from the morass of myth which surrounded him to emphasise his function as saviour and civiliser. In Homer (*Od.* 21.22 ff.) Heracles is himself a sacrilegious cattle-rustler, and Livy (1.7.5) adds the unsaintly detail that Cacus stole the cattle when Hercules was in a drunken sleep (*cum eum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset*).

205 ff. **Caci mens...tauros / avertit**, but it was Cacus himself as a person that did this, not his mind. This rather bold personification of *mens* or *animus* derives from the high style of epic and tragedy. It occurs in Homer, *Il.* 17.68 f. ὧς τῶν οὔ τινι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἐτόλμα / ἀντίον ἐλθέμεναι Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο, and elsewhere in Virgil (*A.* 6.467 f. *talibus Aeneas ardentem et* torva tuentem / *lenibat dictis* animum). At Livy 1.15.1 *inritati Veientium* animi...*in fines Romanos* excucurrerunt, a subordinate clause intervenes (as here) to make the transition easier.

205 f. **ne quid inausum / ...fuisset**: a pluperfect subjunctive in a final clause is something of a rarity; its shade of meaning here can perhaps be conveyed by 'so that nothing might be *left* undared'. The perfect stem lays stress on *completed* action; Cacus' thought was *nihil fuerit inausum,* 'nothing will have been undared', his intention was *ne quid fuerit inausum,* 'let nothing have been undared', and this latter, subordinated and moved back in time, becomes the phrase we have here.

208 **avertit**: 'carries off, steals', with *praeda* as object, *A.* 10.78, Caesar *B.C.* 3.59.3; the *vox propria* for both embezzlement and cattle-rustling (cf. *TLL* 2, 1321 f. *s.v.*); *abducere* is also often used of cattle-lifting, cf. Ovid *Met.* 1.677 and Lee's note.

207 f. Repeated from *G.* 4.550 f., which is itself a repetition of *G.* 4.538 and 540 (no wonder that Virgil remembered it). Note the adjustments

needed to fit the lines to the new context; the most important is that *intacta...cervice iuvencas* appropriate to a context of sacrifice is changed to *forma superante iuvencas* because here the point is their beauty and hence value. There is no cross-reference or similarity between the two contexts, although each occurs in an epyllion-type narrative.

209 ff. Dragging cattle into a cave backwards so that the footprints face in the opposite direction and baffle any search for them was a famous trick of Hermes in the story of how he stole Apollo's cattle. This episode is treated at length in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes: cf. esp. 75 ff. *πλανοδίας δ' ἤλαυνε διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον / ἴχνι' ἀποστρέψας· δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης, / ἀντία ποιήσας ὁπλάς, τὰς πρόσθεν ὄπισθεν, / τὰς δ' ὄπιθεν πρόσθεν, κατὰ δ' ἔμπαλιν αὐτὸς ἔβαινε*, and 103 *ἀδμῆτες δ' ἵκανον ἐς αὔλιον ὑψιμέλαθρον*.

Allusion was probably made to it also by Alcaeus in a hymn of which only one stanza is extant (see Denys Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford, 1955), 252 ff.) (imitated by Horace *Odes* 1.10), and by many Alexandrian poets and mythographers (see Allen and Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns* 103 f.).

209 **hos**: masculine, in accordance with the general rule that a predicative adjective (or resumptive pronoun as here) is masculine if it refers to a group including both masculine and feminine nouns, even if (as here) the feminine noun is the nearer.

209 ff. Cf. Propertius 4.9.9 ff. *incola Cacus erat, metuendo raptor ab antro, / per tria partitos qui dabat ora sonos. / hic, ne certa forent manifestae signa rapinae, / aversos cauda traxit in antra boves.* The imitation is close, and on the basis of it Wakefield made the attractive suggestion to read *raptor* in 211 in place of the otiose *raptos*, which could easily have arisen as an error through *tractos* in the line before or through *rapto(r)saxo* in undivided script.

209 ff. 'And so that there should be no marks of feet going forward, he dragged them into his cave by the tail, and having thus reversed the indications of their tracks, he busied himself with hiding his plunder in the shadowy rock. There were no signs to lead to the cave if anyone searched.'

210 Livy's similar phrasing (1.7.5) *caudis in speluncam traxit* (and cf. the note on 215 f.) has been thought to point to a common source, possibly Ennius; but the words are too commonplace and inevitable to prove any borrowing in any direction.

212 The variants *quaerentes* and *quaerentem* look like normalisations made on the assumption that *ferebant* is transitive; but with *via*, etc., as subject the verb has a virtually absolute use, cf. *A*. 6.295 *hinc via Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas*, and this is perfectly compatible with a dative (here a 'dative of local standpoint'), as at Caesar *B.C.* 3.80.1 *oppidum primum Thessaliae venientibus ab Epiro*.

Wakefield considered this line superfluous and spurious; his view is elaborated by M. D. Reeve (*CR* N.S. 20 (1970), 134 f.) who objects (1) that if *quaerenti* refers to Hercules, it is awkward to have another reference to him in 214 after *interea* which marks a change of scene; (2) that 212 is the

only self-contained line in the episode 201-67 and likely therefore to be an interpolation. But (1) *quaerenti* most naturally = *si quis quaerat*, cf. *KS* 1, 776; (2) the second objection cannot be compelling in a poem which did not receive the finishing touches: it may be a *tibicen* 'interpolated' by the author.

213 **stabulis** here (and just before in 207) means 'pastures' (Servius on 215 says *quia avellebantur a pascuis*). It should probably be taken therefore ἀπὸ κοινοῦ to complete the sense of both *saturata* and *moveret*, the ablative doing double duty in different functions.

215 f. 'as they departed the cattle lowed, and the whole woodland was filled with their moans, and they bellowed as they left the hills behind'. A good example, as Henry points out, of Virgil's 'theme and variation' technique: contrast the subordinated prose of Livy describing the same incident, 1.7.7: *inde cum actae boves quaedam ad desiderium, ut fit, relictorum mugissent, reddita inclusorum ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit* (and notice the similarity with Virgil's phrasing of *reddita... boum vox*). The clauses are bound together by an overlapping of some of the ideas, *discessu...relinqui*, *mugire...querelis...clamore*; Virgil's fondness for the simple ablative, *discessu* 'time when', *querelis* instrumental, *clamore* modal; and the usual *series* of historic infinitives (see the note on 493).

Servius insists that the cattle bellowed because they were being taken away from good grazing, 'not, as many say, because they had lost their companions'; but the phraseology strongly recalls Lucretius' description of the cow which has lost her calf (2.358 f.), *completque querelis / frondiferum nemus.*

colles clamore relinqui = *colles a bubus relinquebantur cum clamore*, admittedly compressed, but not unVirgilian. Difficulty has been felt about the topography: if 'hills' were left behind, the cattle must have moved some way up the valley, but, it is objected, we are not told this, or that Hercules had to turn back to regain the Aventine. This led G. Watson (*CR* 68 (1954), 99 f.) to suggest that the phrase means that the sound echoes from the hills (impossible), and A. Y. Campbell (*CR* 69 (1955), 137 ff.) to propose *propinqui* for *relinqui* (Peerlkamp, unpersuasively radical, had already suggested *clamare propinqui*, see *CR* 72 (1958), 15 f.). It is probably misguided to press for precision; those who cannot dispense with it would do least harm to the text by interpreting *relinqui* as equivalent to an inceptive imperfect.

217-232 *One of the stolen cattle answers the lowing and betrays the theft. Hercules blazes with anger and pursues Cacus, who takes refuge in his cave, blocking the entrance with a boulder. Hercules is temporarily baffled.*

219-24 A clear example of the use of descriptive dactyls to reinforce the notion of speed, offset by the slow spondaic wonderment of 222 and the beginning of 223.

219 f. 'At this point Hercules' hot-tempered indignation really blazed

out in fury...' and syntax and word-order become almost dithyrambic: the sentence is welded together by the grammatical ambiguity of all the nouns in it (except *dolor*): *Alcidae* may be genitive or dative, and the ablative *furiis* can legitimately be interpreted in more than one way (for the similar ambiguity of *felle* see the note below). The translation suggested above assumes that *Alcidae* is possessive genitive with *dolor* (but observe the wide separation), and that *furiis* is ablative of manner; but a strong case could be made for taking *Alcidae* as dative of interest and *furiis* as ablative of cause.

219 **furiis**: *furiae* not personified, and meaning 'fury, frenzy' is found only in poetry and only in the plural. Poetry from Plautus onwards was very fond of the plural of abstract nouns. Basically the plural seems to have represented a repetition or continuation of the state denoted by the singular (*ira*, anger: *irae*, outbursts of anger), then to have become simply a more emotive equivalent, and finally to have degenerated into a cliché. Only the context and what we know of the author's practice can allocate any particular example to one of the above three stages. See further *KS* 1, 77 ff., *LHSz* 2, 18.

219 **furiis** (and 205): Virgil uses the oblique cases of *furiae* plural for the less manageable forms of the plural of *furor* (which occurs in the plural only in the accusative at *A*. 4.501, 5.801, 7.406): there is no difference of meaning.

219 f. **exarserat atro / felle dolor**: the ablative phrase, closely following another ablative *furiis*, cannot be allocated to any one exclusive grammatical category, because its function in the sentence is not narrowly precise. In fact, in view of many other similar examples, it looks as if Virgil's intention was to let its meaning pervade the surrounding context. It is possible to take it as an ablative of manner 'with black gall', or as an ablative of 'place from which' governed by the preverb in ex*arserat*, the gall being thought of as the source of the indignation. Mackail (*App*. A, p. 515) takes the view that Virgil intends the ablative phrase to take the place of the kind of compound adjective which had come to be felt as 'inappropriate to the quality of a pure Latin idiom' (like Pacuvius' *repandirostrum*, 'back-curving-snouted', or Varro's *stellimicantibus* 'starry-glittering' (*Menippeae* frg. 92 Bücheler)); so *atro felle dolor* renders the Greek ἄχος μελάγχολον. This is a very attractive view, supported by other examples (see the notes on 31, 693). 'Black bile' was thought to be the cause not of melancholy in a modern sense, but of passionate emotions like anger.

219 f. **exarserat...rapit**: the dactylic lightness of the pluperfect no doubt encouraged its use in epic poetry, and the use of the historic present is common in all literary forms to secure a vividness which the perfect does not have. Even so the tenses here were no doubt chosen for their sharp time-contrast; the pluperfect draws attention to the extreme rapidity of the action and the speed with which it gave way to the second. An exactly similar instance occurs at *A*. 12.430 f. *ille avidus pugnae suras* incluserat *auro / hinc atque hinc* odit*que moras hastamque* coruscat. The nuance of

meaning implied by the pluperfect cannot be reproduced neatly in English.

220 **arma...nodisque gravatum / robur**: is the *-que* connective, 'his weapons (bow and arrows according to Servius, and Hercules as archer is familiar enough) *and* his club', or 'epexegetic', 'his weapons, *viz.* his club'? Stylistically either is possible; the sense of 249 f. supports the first.

221 **ardua montis**: a substantivised neuter plural adjective with a partitive genitive is a rarity in Caesar and Cicero's speeches, and its authenticity there is usually open to doubt (see *KS* 1, 433): this suggests deliberate exclusion of a construction which might at first sight be unclear (the adjective *ardua* rouses the expectation of a following *noun* to be construed as normally with the possessive genitive: *petit ardua montis* (e.g.) *iuga*). But the construction was adopted by poetry from Ennius (*Ann.* 89 V *in infera noctis*) onwards, by Sallust and post-classical prose; in some cases it is possible to detect a different nuance of meaning between this construction and the straightforward agreement of adjective and noun, e.g. between *viarum angusta* (Tac. *Hist.* 4.35), 'the narrow parts of the streets', and *angustae viae*, 'the narrow streets' (implying that they were all consistently narrow); but the metrical convenience of the periphrasis no doubt promoted its use where the difference in meaning is not particularly significant.

223 **oculis** has overwhelming MS authority and is not open to serious objection if taken with *turbatum* = 'with panic in his eyes' (cf. Livy 7.26.5 *oculisque simul et mente turbatum*); the preceding *timentem* is narrowed to one of its most obvious symptoms (Conington compares Soph. *Ajax* 139 f. μέλαν ὄκνον ἔχω καὶ πεφόβημαι / πτηνῆς ὡς ὄμμα πελείας), which has point in contrast with Cacus' 'terrifying' eyes as they were usually (266). Admittedly *turbatus* = simply 'confused' does not *need* further qualification (cf. 435), and when this is expressed Virgil elsewhere uses an accusative of respect (cf. 29); the ill-supported variant *oculos*, although preferred by Heinsius and Heyne, looks like an attempt to produce this usual construction, which Virgil may deliberately have avoided so as not to have two consecutive accusatives. *oculi*, which is also very poorly supported, is preferred by Henry (and Hirtzel and Sabbadini), who objects that *nostri* used absolutely is unparalleled in Virgil: but so is *nostrorum* *A.* 2.411, and the emphasis which *nostri...videre...oculi* puts on the fact of being eye-witnesses is not nearly so apt to the context as the fact of Cacus' confusion (which also precludes taking *oculis* with *videre* = Homer's ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσι, etc.).

223 **ilicet**, derived from *ire licet* (cf. *sci(re)licet* and *vide(re)licet*), originally meant 'you may go, the business is over' and was used as a formula of dismissal in law-courts, at funeral ceremonies, etc. The secondary meaning 'immediately' was probably helped by the similarity to *īlĭcō* (*in loco*, 'on the spot') which is not tractable in hexameters. The history of the word is fully examined by S. Timpanaro, *RFIC* 91 (1963), 323 ff. Leumann 153 regards Virgil's use of the word as artificial and pseudo-archaic. See also Austin's note on *A.* 2.424.

225-30 This long period is constructed hypotactically, with subordinate

clauses, more in the manner of Lucretius than of Virgil: contrast the period in 251-5, in Virgil's normal paratactic manner.

225 ff. Cacus has something of Homer's Cyclops Polyphemus in him: ... ἀπάνευθεν ἐὼν ἀθεμίστια ᾔδη (*Od.* 9.189); he too blocked the entrance to his cave with a huge boulder—which twenty-two four-wheeled waggons could not have moved (*Od.* 9.240 ff.).

226 f. **ferro quod et arte paterna / pendebat**: literally 'which was hanging by an iron chain and by his father's craft': a slight instance of zeugma, the concrete noun *ferro* and the abstract *arte* (both ablatives of instrument) being coordinated by *et* with no intervening words to mitigate the harshness. In English there is always an element of intentional burlesque in this construction: 'Mr Weller then took his hat and his leave.' In Latin when the humour is not made quite obvious by puns or word-play (as at Cic. *Phil.* 13.24 *cum in gremiis mimarum mentum mentemque deponeres*), the Romans do not seem to have found the construction funny (or at any rate not to have avoided it in contexts where burlesque was out of place), cf. Cic. *Cat.* 2.11 *et in urbe et in eadem mente permanent*; and in poetry, where it is more frequent, *A.* 2.654 *inceptoque et sedibus haeret in isdem*; Ovid *A.A.* 1.551 *et color et Theseus et vox abiere puellae.* See further *LHSz* 2, 832 f.

227 **pendebat**: a molossus at the beginning of the verse and preceding a pause has a slow massive ponderous rhythm, which is often a counter-support to the meaning of the word, as here, and with *instabant* 434, *fundebat* 584. See also the note on 147 *insequitur.*

227 **fultosque emuniit obice postis**: *fultos* may not be strictly proleptic but refer to a contemporaneous action (see the note on 37 *aeterna*); translate 'and (after) he had fortified the gate-posts by shoring them up with the barricade' (of the boulder, *saxum* 226).

227 **obice** is the only form of the noun used by Virgil in the *Aeneid*: at *A.* 10.377 and 11.890 it also occupies the dactylic fifth foot; it is derived from the verb *obicere* which was originally *ob-iacere,* then passed through *obiecere* to *obiicere,* and finally was regularly spelt *obicere.* All of Virgil's uses of both noun and verb have the first syllable long, as it correctly was, because of the combination *b* and semi-consonantal *i* in *iacere* (whether this latter was actually written or not). Later poets (less sensitive to etymology?) allow the first syllable to be short, cf. (noun) Silius Italicus 4.24 *et fidos certant obices accersere silva*; (verb) Lucan 8.796 *cur obicis Magno tumulum manesque vagantis?* The *vowel-sound o* in *ob-* is by nature short and remains so whether the *syllable* is long or not: Romans who pronounced the *o* long are corrected by Aulus Gellius *N.A.* 4.17.1 f., 7 f., 10 f. (see C. G. Cooper, *An Introduction to the Latin Hexameter* 17).

Only at *A.* 10.377 is the gender of *obice* made explicit, by the addition of *magna* (but Servius knows of a variant *magno*); on the other hand at Tac. *Ann.* 13.39 *obices portarum subversi,* and *Hist.* 3.30 *ferrati portarum obices,* the word is certainly masculine. Similar fluctuations in gender occur with *pumex* and *cortex,* and may be due to the influence of the gender of competing synonyms in either Latin or Greek. On the whole

question see Klotz, *RhM* 80 (1931), 342 ff., and compare the note on *silex* 233 below.

228 f. 228 is the one hypermetric line in this book (see Appendix, p. 193). The metrical artistry of 227 ff. is noteworthy: Cacus blocked the entrance with ease (in the 'falling' rhythm of homodyned dactyls, *emūnĭīt ōbĭcĕ pŏstīs*); Hercules arrived with lightning speed and pounding energy (in 'rising' anapaestic rhythm with clash of ictus and accent, *eccĕ fŭrēns ănĭmīs ădĕrāt*), but was abruptly halted by the blockade and slowly surveyed the means of getting in (*ōmnēmq(ue) āccēssūm lūstrāns*, in heterodyned spondees). The hypermetre solders the two lines together, and produces the sudden halt in the rhythm after *Tirynthius* instead of at the end of the line.

228 **animis**: here and at 256 *animi* = 'passion, anger'.

228 **Tirynthius**: Hercules; he was born in Argos, but Servius (on *A.* 7.662) says he was brought up (*nutritus*) in Tiryns. The accepted version, in so far as there is one, knows of his association with Tiryns only after the Pythian priestess advised him to settle there while performing the labours for Eurystheus, king of Argos (a localising of the story which may reflect the early history of Tiryns' subjection to Argos).

229 **lustrans**: *lustrare* originally meant 'to purify'; because purification was often effected by going round a place or person in procession, completing the magic circle to keep good influences in and bad ones out, it came to mean 'to go round' (as in 231), or 'to go over, traverse'; associated with *oculis*, etc., it then acquired the meaning 'to go over with one's eyes, to scan' (as in 153 *lustrabat lumine*), and eventually it came to have this sense without any qualification (as here).

Translate: 'and scanning every way of approach kept turning his face this way and that, gnashing his teeth'.

230-2 A skilfully constructed period: three clauses of diminishing length, linked by the initial anaphora of *ter*, are 'pegged' on to the hexameter frame by the word-pattern formed by placing the verbs in the emphatic positions of the verse—beginning and end (*lustrat || temptat, temptat || resedit*). See Appendix, p. 200, for further illustration.

231 **Aventini montem**: in geographical descriptions classical Latin prose allows only the apposition in the same case of the common noun and proper name, *ad urbem Romam* not *ad urbem Romae*. The 'appositional' genitive (as in the second example) did not come into vogue until Augustan poetry and prose, the chief impetus being given by Virgil, e.g. *A.* 1.244 *fontem...Timavi*; 247 *urbem Patavi*. This usage has clear affinities with the genitive of definition of the type *nomen servitutis*, 'the name of slavery', i.e. 'the name "slavery"'. But the possessive genitive may have contributed something if, as seems possible, the proper name was thought of as personalised (*lacus Averni*, 'the pool of the god Avernus'; see Servius on *G.* 2.164). Here it is quite likely that Virgil means 'the hill of (the hero) Aventinus', the *son* of Hercules (prominently mentioned in the Catalogue of Latin Allies, *A.* 7.655 ff.).

233-246 *Hercules wrenches away the ridge of rock over the cave, and the cave's hellish depths are revealed.*

233 **stabat acuta silex**...236 **hanc**: for this simple variation on *est locus* opening an *ἔκφρασις τόπου* see the note on 597 *est ingens...lucus*.

233 **acuta silex**: like *obex* (see the note on 227), *silex* fluctuates in gender between masculine and feminine: where it is qualified in Virgil it is always feminine (*E.* 1.15; *A.* 6.471 and 602, as well as here), and Servius here is probably right in regarding this as a Virgilian innovation: *paene omnes* hunc *silicem dixerunt: nam et Varro et Lucretius ita dicunt. tanta tamen est Vergilii auctoritas, ut persuadeat nobis etiam* hanc *silicem dici*. In the examples in the *Aeneid* cited above it is only the nominative *silex* which is qualified, by an immediately preceding adjective which has to be feminine because of the metre. Virgil no doubt thought that such a variation in gender was a traditional epic licence: in Homer λίθος is masculine and feminine; *lapis* which is generally masculine was made feminine by Ennius (*Ann.* 553 V = Nonius 211.9 *tanto sublatae sunt a(u)gmine tunc lapides*); *silex* is virtually synonymous with *lapis*, and is often found joined with it (e.g. Plautus *Poenulus* 291, *tu es lapide silice stultior*) in Old Latin. The same chain of influence ultimately from Greek practice may account for the exceptional *arida modo pumice* at Catullus 1.2.

235 **nidis**: 'nests' (cf. *G.* 4.307 for the singular in this sense) or 'nestlings' (cf. *G.* 4.17), or both.

236 f. **laevum**...(**ad amnem**)...**dexter**: from whose point of view? Clearly not, it is argued, that of the narrator Evander at the Ara Maxima, who, looking south to the Aventine, would have the river on his right. Commentators ancient and modern have been exercised to make topographical sense of the passage. If Virgil had a precise picture in his mind, which is not certain, the viewpoint is apparently that of someone between the southern part of the Aventine and the river, looking roughly north-east (Hercules himself, according to Warde Fowler, *ASR ad loc.*—but then only *if* his *lustratio* of the Aventine was clockwise, and *dexter* applied to Hercules from the point of view of his own previous position is possible). Further, *in adversum nitens* would naturally = 'against the direction of the slope', which makes nonsense of *dexter*: hence Bentley's conjecture *in aversam*, palaeographically very attractive—*aversi in tergum Sulmonis* is certainly right at *A.* 9.412 against *adversi* of all the principal MSS.

Adjectives of direction are peculiarly liable to hypallage (cf. the note on 57). It is just conceivable that the viewpoint *is* Evander's, that *laev-* really belongs to *silex* or *iugo*: the *silex* rose from a ridge on the left (east) of the Aventine, sloping towards the river: Hercules did heave against the direction of the slope, from the right (west) side.

The form of the sentence *hanc, ut...incumbebat...*, *concussit* which repeats that of 209 ff. is not common in Virgil; but cf. *A.* 12.488 ff. and 623 ff.

237-9 Notice how the heterodyned spondees in *adversum nitens... avulsam solvit* suggest the slow painful effort required to make the rock

budge; then suddenly it gives way quickly and easily in the homodyned dactyls of *-dicibus inde repente*, and Hercules' force spends itself rapidly and effectively in the stopped first foot dactyl *impulit* (see the note on 87 *leniit*). The situation, rhythm and phraseology recall *A.* 2.464 ff. (*turrim*) *convellimus altis / sedibus impulimusque; ea lapsa repente ruinam / cum sonitu trahit et Danaum super agmina late / incidit.*

239 f. Critics are divided on the question of whether or not the rock torn off by Hercules actually fell into the river. If it did, 240 is a very forceful way of representing the natural consequence; if it did not, 240 is an exaggerated piece of pathetic fallacy, with personalised reactions of the banks and the stream. The second view gains support from *A.* 9.124 f. where in terror at the portentous transformation of ships into nymphs, and with no physical cause, *cunctatur et amnis / rauca sonans revocatque pedem Tiberinus ab alto.*

241-58 Another excellent illustration of the 'theme and variation' technique. The narrative proper hangs on the themes alone; the elaborated variations give it depth and colour.

242 **regia**, with undertones of despotism, like *arx* and *aula* (cf. *A.* 1.140). **penitus**...243 **penitus** at exactly the same position in the line; perhaps, as Page maintains, an awkward oversight. Roman poets were on the whole less sensitive to such repetitions at short intervals than English poets; Housman (*Lucan*, pref. 33) remarks 'Each author has his own principles and practice. Horace was as sensitive to iteration as any modern...Virgil was less sensitive, Ovid much less; Lucan was almost insensible.' But the repetition here is almost too blatant to be unintended, and it has rhetorical point: the subject and the simile are provided with a common element and so united in sharper comparison. Cf. the line-endings at 271 f. and 396 f. and the notes there. (It is remotely possible that *penitus* 242 derives from that word in the line below and was substituted for the true reading; in this case Schrader's *late* from Ennius *Ann.* 440 V *tum cava sub monte late specus intus patebat* is as good a guess as any.)

243 (**si**) **qua**...**vi**: better taken together, 'if by some (unknown) force', than = *εἴ που* (*πως*)...*βίᾳ*, 'if somewhere (-how)...by force'.

244 f. Virgil has taken a hint but little more from Homer *Il.* 20 (*Θεομαχία*) 61 ff.: in the battle of the gods Poseidon shook the earth so that the king of the dead was afraid he might tear the earth apart and reveal the lower world: *ἔδεισεν... / ...μή οἱ ὕπερθε / γαῖαν ἀναρρήξειε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων, / οἰκία δὲ θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι φανείη / σμερδαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ.*

Macrobius 5.16.12 ff. notes that Virgil has transferred material from Homer's direct narrative to a simile, *dissimulanter imitatur.*

245 **super**: generally taken = *desuper*, but 'the vast pit descried *from above*', i.e. from the upper world, *by mortal men*, introduces an extra and unnecessary element into the simile; *super* = 'above' (them), as seen by the underworld and its occupants underneath, coheres better with the following *Manes*, and keeps attention on Cacus' similar situation.

246 **trepident**: the asyndeton is not harsh enough to be suspect, and

Wagner's *trepidentque* is not necessary. It is generally assumed that *trepident* is coordinate with the preceding subjunctives; it could however be in apodosis to them, *non secus ac...trepident...Manes si ...terra... infernas reseret sedes*. The order of ideas in 241 ff. is chiastic: Cacus' cave uncovered: the Underworld :: the ghosts of the Underworld: Cacus.

246 **Manes** means the indiscriminate mass of the spirits of the dead; primitive Roman thought regarded them collectively, usually as a potential menace; the word only exists in the plural and this rather illogically came to be applied to individuals in funerary inscriptions from the last decades B.C. onwards, e.g. *CIL* I. 2^2.761 *Dis Manibus sacrum L. Caecilii Rufi.*

247-267 *Hercules hurls missiles into the cave, and when the trapped Cacus fills it with smoke and flame Hercules leaps on to him and strangles him. The stolen cattle are brought to light, and Cacus' monstrous corpse is exposed to view.*

248 *rudere*, regularly used of loud animal noises (especially the braying of asses), suits the bestial half of *semihomo Cacus*.

248 **insueta rudentem**: 'bellowing as never before'; cf. 489 *infanda furentem*: accusative neuter adjectives used adverbially are an offshoot of the use of the internal (limiting) accusative. Native Latin idiom confined itself in this usage to adjectives of *quantity* only (*multum, nimium, aliquantum, pauca, cetera,* etc.), and only these are found in good prose. Poetry extended the usage to other adjectives, clearly under Greek influence: the singular adjective so used adverbially was established by Catullus (51.5 *dulce ridentem*, a translation of Sappho's γελαίσας ἰμέροεν); the plural was launched by Ennius (*Ann.* 342 *ululat...acuta*, if the reading is sound), and continued by Cicero (in his translation of Aratus, frg. 26 *truculenta tuetur*) and Lucretius (e.g. 5.33 *acerba tuens*). See further *KS* I, 279 ff., *LHSz* 2, 40.

250 **molaribus**, 'stones the size of mill-stones'. In the duel between Ajax and Hector in *Iliad* 7, Ajax smashed Hector's shield with a 'stone the size of a mill-stone' (270 μυλοειδέϊ πέτρῳ), and in *Il.* 12.160 f. the helmets and shields of the combatants clattered as they were pelted with such stones (μυλάκεσσι). Homer's heroes are endowed with superhuman strength (as befits their superhuman size, see the note on 162): Diomedes (*Il.* 5.302 ff.) found it easy to hurl a stone which two men of Homer's generation could not have carried; and Pandarus (*Il.* 4.109 ff.) drew a bow which no mortal man could have drawn (see Leaf and Bayfield's note *ad loc.*).

Virgil continued the exaggeration: Mezentius (*A.* 10.698) strikes his victim *ingenti fragmine montis*. In the present passage Hercules, the son of Jupiter, possesses superhuman strength in his own right, and the epic convention of exaggeration is not inappropriate. The same is not true of Acmon, an ordinary Trojan warrior at *A.* 10.127 f.: *fert ingens toto conixus corpore saxum, / haud partem exiguam montis, Lyrnesius Acmon.* The process by which he comes to hurl 'no small part of a mountain' is a fascinating illustration of Virgil's association of ideas. At *Od.* 9.481 the giant Cyclops

ἧκε δ' ἀπορρήξας κορυφὴν ὄρεος μεγάλοιο; in *A*. 8 (see the note on 425) Virgil mentions a number of Cyclopes, to three of whom he gives significant names, one of which is Pyr*acmon* ('Fire-anvil'). He remembered this coinage of his, and decided that the Trojan warrior who performs the Homeric Cyclops' feat should bear the Cyclopean name Acmon ('Anvil'), while the adjective Lyrnesius gives a feasible birthplace (Lyrnesus in Mysia) to the fictitious hero.

251 The omission of *est* in the subordinate (or at least parenthetic) clause introduced by *neque enim* is nothing unusual. It has to be 'understood' and coupled with *super* (*superest*, 'is left, remains'); there is no need to supply it materially as a section of the MS tradition has by adding it to the end of the line.

253 **caligine caeca**, 'in blinding darkness'; *caecus* = literally 'blind' does not occur in Virgil (although it does occur metaphorically in phrases like *caeci furore*).

256 'In his fury Hercules could not endure this...' *non tulit* is a Virgilian formula, see Austin on *A*. 2.407.

260 **corripit in nodum complexus**: 'seized and knotted him in his embrace', and crushed him, in the same way in which he had eventually killed Antaeus, who could only be killed by breaking his contact with his power-giving mother Earth: cf. Lucan 4.632 *Herculeosque novo laxavit corpore nodos*, after a detailed description of Hercules' 'grip' of Antaeus. *nodus* is a technical term of wrestling, 'a firm hold': see Dilke on Statius *Ach*. 2.155. There is also an allusion to the *nodus Herculis* or *Herculaneus*, the knot invented by him and difficult to untie, good for tourniquets (Pliny *N.H*. 28.(17).63), particularly associated with the costume of a bride, but also applied, for example, to the closed circle formed by the snakes on Mercury's *caduceus* (Macrobius 1.19.16).

Different accounts of Cacus' manner of death are given by Propertius 4.9.15 and Ovid *Fasti* 1.575 f.

260 In this line, and at line 595 *armati tendunt*; *it clamor, et agmine facto*, there is a light trochaic pause in the fourth foot; this in itself is a great rarity (see Williams' note on *A*. 5.166-7). But 260 is also one of the comparatively few examples in Virgil (there are only about 100 in the whole *Aeneid*, see Austin on *A*. 4.58, and on *A*. 2.380), where a line contains a trochaic caesura in both the fourth and fifth feet: the effect of this is to produce coincidence of ictus and accent on the penultimate and antepenultimate words of the line, whose rhythm then suggests that the hexameter has already come to a close: corripit in nodum *complexus et angit* / inhaerens. This 'premature ending' seems to be the chief reason for the general avoidance of lines with this rhythmic pattern (although a similar impression can be given also by lines of a different pattern like, for example, 275 communemque vocate deum *et date vina* / volentes; or 653 stabat pro templo et *Capitolia celsa* / tenebat). There are other instances in *A*. 8 at 34, 94, 189, 206, 226, 390, 433, 656. For further discussion, see the references cited above.

260 f. **angit...guttur**: tr. 'strangled him until his eyes started from his

head and his throat was drained of blood'. Literally = 'clinging to him he throttles his dashed-out eyes and throat dry of blood'. The phraseology is compressed and violent through the combination of two common figures: (1) *angit* is strictly connected with *guttur*, only by zeugma with *oculos* which however comes first; in many cases of this figure the 'surprise' noun is less startling through *following* an expected one, cf., for example, Val. Fl. 8.68 *iamque manus Colchis crinemque intenderat astris*; (2) *elisos* and *siccum* are both proleptic (see the note on 37). Difficulty was felt about *elisos* in antiquity: Servius defends it as a *soloecophanes*, an *apparent* solecism; *elidens* was preferred by many scholars and has found its way into the MS tradition, but after *inhaerens* another present participle is of course stylistically impossible (even if separated by a comma).

ango and *angor* (noun) seem to be used exclusively of *mental* distress before the Augustan period; here, in its only occurrence in the *Aeneid*, Virgil imposes the literal physical sense (cf. Greek ἄγχω). For *elidere* = 'to strangle', cf. the similar phrases in Ovid *Her*. 9.85 f., also of Hercules, *scilicet immanes elisis faucibus hydros / infantem caudis involuisse manum*; Lucan 2.154 *hic laqueo fauces elisaque guttura fregit*.

263 Four-word lines of deliberate artistry occur occasionally in Virgil in highly finished passages, cf. in its context *G*. 1.470 *obscenaeque canes importunaeque volucres*; identical with the line here in rhyme, rhythm, caesura, is *A*. 11.870 *disiectique duces desolatique manipli*.

263 **abiuratae** strictly means 'denied (or disclaimed) on oath'. Servius comments: *abiurare est rem creditam negare periurio. sed hoc isti loco non congruit* (for Hercules never entrusted the cattle to Cacus, nor has the narrative given Cacus any opportunity of denying that he did possess them). There are two possible lines of interpretation:

(1) Virgil is using the word loosely in its legal sense to mean 'disclaimed on oath' without any implication that the cattle had been *entrusted* to Cacus (this is in any case ruled out by *rapinae*). In this case we must follow Heyne and Conington in believing that it 'refers to a disclaimer of Cacus not mentioned, but easily understood'. In fact Virgil will be expecting the reader to supply the narrative with a quite important detail which he has not made explicit, but which is specifically stated in his underlying source, for Hermes does deny on oath that he has stolen Apollo's cattle, *Hymn to Hermes* 274 ff. εἰ δὲ θέλεις πατρὸς κεφαλὴν μέγαν ὅρκον ὀμοῦμαι· / μὴ μὲν ἐγὼ μήτ' αὐτὸς ὑπίσχομαι αἴτιος εἶναι, / μήτε τιν' ἄλλον ὄπωπα βοῶν κλοπὸν ὑμετεράων. This would be quite in Virgil's manner (see the note on 531).

(2) But it is not in Virgil's manner to use words loosely. The abundant evidence of his interest in etymology suggests that Servius *auctus* is right in paraphrasing *abiuratae* by *alieni iuris factae*: the 'rights' (*ius*) of the cattle belonged to Hercules, but these had been taken away from him (*ab-*) and usurped by Cacus. In this case Virgil is using the word according to the basic meaning of its compounds, and in so doing has changed the accepted sense. This is no doubt part of the *nova cacozelia* he was charged with.

Translate: 'the plunder he had appropriated'.

265 **nequeunt expleri corda tuendo**: theoretically *corda* could be the subject of *nequeunt*, 'their hearts cannot be filled with gazing'; but in view of the extremely similar phrase at *A.* 1.713 *expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo*, it is better to regard *corda* as the accusative direct object of *expleri* which is being used in a middle (or semi-reflexive) sense: 'they (the onlookers) cannot fill their hearts with gazing'. The imposing of this middle sense on passive non-participial forms of verbs was much favoured by Augustan poetry under Greek influence: it is an extension of the type of construction found at 457 *tunicaque inducitur artus* (see the note there). (It is also possible to regard *expleri* as truly passive, and *corda* as an accusative of respect, for this type of expression undoubtedly contributed to the variety of forms exploited by Virgil: see the note on 29 *turbatus pectora*.)

268-279 *From that time there has been an annual sacrifice to Hercules at the Ara Maxima. Having finished his account, Evander leads the company in pouring a libation to Hercules.*

268-72 After the smooth well-ordered Cacus-narration, this section is abrupt and incoherent. Apart from style, it contains three serious difficulties:

(1) *minores* (268) = 'descendants, posterity' (infrequent and poetic as a substantive in this sense) is obviously anachronistic in the mouth of Evander; Servius was puzzled, and Servius *auctus*' stress on Evander's longevity is not a convincing explanation, even though Virgil did model him after Nestor. Nor can Virgil be speaking *in propria persona* in the middle of Evander's speech. (Contrast 314-36 with 337 ff., the absence of anachronism in Evander's own words against the anachronistic comments of the poet when merely reporting Evander's words.)

(2) *statuit* (271) lacks a clearly stated subject if there is heavy punctuation at the end of 270 (correctly; to make *domus Pinaria*, which is merely the *guardian* of the rite, into the subject is impossible); see the note on 271.

(3) The repetition of the same *phrase*, *quae maxima semper* (271 f.) at the same position of two successive verses is an unparalleled anomaly in Virgil, different both from the repetition of a single word at the end of a line (see the note on 396 f.), and from the artistically contrived repetitions of phrases in Ovid (e.g. *Met.* 1.325 f., and 361 f.) and in the Virgil of the *Eclogues* (8.48 ff.) where there is rhetorical point: here, in spite of Servius *auctus* and Mackail (*Aeneid*, Intro. 80), it is difficult to see anything but clumsy emphasis. The lines as we have them are almost certainly a sign of the unfinished state of the *Aeneid*, most probably a *tibicen*, a temporary prop, or a versified marginal note, which Virgil would have changed or expanded later; they were (characteristically) deleted by Peerlkamp. Bömer's attempt to solve some of the problems by excision and transposition (*RhM* 92 (1944), 363) is quite unconvincing.

269 **diem** appears to refer to the day of Hercules' victory over Cacus;

in fact, celebration took place at a shrine or temple on the anniversary of the day of its dedication; for the Ara Maxima this was probably 12 August. Such a date does not admittedly fit in well with the overall chronology of the *Aeneid*, for Aeneas spent only a short time in Sicily and Italy after his departure from Carthage at the end of winter, but if Virgil attached precise significance to this date he may have remembered it primarily as the eve of Augustus' triumph in 29 B.C. (see the note on 102).

269 f. 'Potitius founded the rite of Hercules in the first place, and the family of the Pinarii preserved it.'

The traditional story, told by Servius and Servius *auctus* here, and Livy 1.7.12 ff., was that after slaying Cacus Hercules, recognised as a divinity, instituted sacrifice to himself and taught the procedure (that there should be a morning and an evening sacrifice) to two old men Pinarius and Potitius. On the first occasion of the evening sacrifice, however, Potitius arrived in time to officiate, Pinarius only after the *exta* had been distributed, and Hercules in anger confined Pinarius and his family to the function of *ministri*. The two families continued in charge of the rite until Appius Claudius bribed the Potitii to surrender it to *servi publici*, as a result of which he himself became blind (*Caecus*) and the Potitii soon became extinct.

The historical facts behind this story are very difficult to recover beyond the basic one that the cult, like many others in early Rome, was originally very much a family concern of patrician *gentes*, and was eventually taken over by the State, probably in the censorship of Appius Claudius (312 B.C.), 'one of a family of pestilent innovators' (H. J. Rose, *ARR* 92). There is no trace of the *gens* Potitia by the end of the Republic; the *gens* Pinaria still survived, and so did the memory of its association with the rite (Cic. *Dom.* 134 on L. Pinarius Natta, Clodius' brother-in-law), but hardly with any high standing or prestige. So it would be quite natural for the State to adopt the cult and conserve it (Appius Claudius looks like the victim of party propaganda). In historical times the *praetor urbanus* was the officiating magistrate, taking the place of the *gens* Potitia, and *servi publici* (who could not of course hold a priesthood) were the *ministri* looking after the material needs of the cult: this humbler function seems to have been projected back on to the Pinarii. The two families, as co-patrons of the cult, are likely to have shared all responsibilities equally; the difference of function, mentioned by Virgil, was suggested partly by folk-etymology, Potitius—*potitus*, 'in possession of' (*auctor*), Pinarius—πεινᾶν, 'to go hungry'. See further Wissowa, *RuK*² 274 f., Latte, *RRG* 213 f., H. J. Rose, *ARR* 92.

271 **statuit**: the subject appears to be *Potitius auctor* (269); other authorities, however, are divided between ascribing the foundation either to Evander or to Hercules himself (see Wissowa, *RuK*² 273, n. 6, who believes that in the original myth Evander was named, and Hercules later adopted because of his connection with the founding of the altar of Jupiter Inventor). The subject here could be Hercules (for abrupt changes of subject see the note on 546 *graditur*). Mackail held that the passage here

is incomplete and unrevised, and was attracted by Pomponius Sabinus' proposal (*Commentarii*, Basel (1547), 1307) to read *statui* (but this attempt to regularise the story will not hold up against the unanimous reading of the MSS).

A careful examination of the whole tradition can be found in J. G. Winter, *The Myth of Hercules at Rome*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanist Series IV (1910), 171 ff.

273 **tantarum in munere laudum**: 'in celebration of such great exploits'. *munus* basically refers to the discharge of a duty, here and *A.* 5.537, 6.637 a religious duty; *munus* can also mean a public show which it was a magistrate's duty to provide. *laudes* often = 'deeds which merit praise' as here.

274 **porgite**: by syncope (see 73 *periclis*) for *por(ri)gite*: the only other occurrence of a finite form of this verb in Virgil is *porrigitur A.* 6.597. The syncopated form occurs in Old Latin (e.g. Plautus *Pseudolus* 708), and *porgite* here is specifically said to have been taken from Ennius by Servius (on *A.* 1.26 *alta mente repostum: repostos et porgite de Ennio transtulit*); it may have had an old-fashioned ring about it, but was no doubt maintained in popular speech (cf. Italian *porgere*): *perrigo* had given way to *pergo* before the time of the earliest written documents. *porg-* forms were taken up by the Silver Latin epic poets (see the references in *LS s.v.*).

On *porgite dextris* Servius comments *et est Homeri*: possibly a recasting of *Il.* 9.670 f. *τοὺς μὲν ἄρα χρυσέοισι κυπέλλοις υἷες Ἀχαιῶν / δειδέχατ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἀνασταδόν.*

275 **communem...deum**: 'the god of us both', Greeks and Trojans, now in alliance; similarly at *A.* 12.118 Rutulians and Trojans prepare altars for the *di communes* to ratify the general truce during the duel of Aeneas and Turnus. In both contexts Virgil is thinking solely of the necessity of having a commonly recognised god for the solemnity to be available and binding for both parties (cf. Propertius 1.11.16 perfida *communis* nec meminisse *deos*): what gods the Trojans and a primitive Italian tribe could in fact have had in common is difficult to see; and here there is no reason to believe that the Trojans were particularly devoted to Hercules who is commemorated in the Salian hymn (290 f.) as the destroyer of Troy. To interpret *communemque vocate deum* = 'and summon the god to share in the feast' is *prima facie* very attractive, primitive belief holding that gods were actually present at sacrifices in their honour; but the idea of '*contributing* to', often present in *communis* (as in Greek *συμβολ-*; and cf. *immunis*), would not be appropriate here.

275 **volentes**, 'with a will', because reluctance or constraint hindered the act of worship—a surprising sidelight on the psychological demands on the worshipper in Roman religion, whose outward forms are generally cold and contractual; cf. Turnus' prayer at *A.* 10.676 ff. *vos o potius miserescite, venti; / in rupes, in saxa* (volens *vos Turnus adoro*) */ ferte ratem saevisque vadis immittite syrtis.* Similarly *libens* often occurs in inscriptions recording the discharge of a vow, in the formula V(*otum*) S(*olvit*) L(*ibens*). *laetus* is used in the same sense at *A.* 5.236, 8.279, 8.544. 'Volition' was also a

prerequisite for the action of the deity answering a prayer, cf. Livy 1.16.3 *pacem precibus exposcunt uti* (*Romulus*) volens *propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem.*

276 **Herculea bicolor...populus umbra**: note the schematism; this tendency to organise balanced pairs of nouns and adjectives is distinctive of Latin poetry; it is not noticeable in Greek, was inaugurated, as far as we can tell, by Cicero in his translation of Aratus, and much developed by Catullus in the Epyllion (poem 64). See T. E. V. Pearce, 'The Enclosing Word Order in the Latin Hexameter', *CQ* N.S. 16 (1966), 298 ff.

The poplar was often associated with Hercules, cf., for example, *E.* 7.61; *G.* 2.66; Ovid *Her.* 9.63 f., and became one of his symbols: on Horace *Odes* 1.7.23 where Teucer, fleeing from Telamon and Salamis, *tempora populea fertur vinxisse corona,* Kiessling-Heinze[8] rightly point out that he does this because he intends to sacrifice to Hercules *ἡγεμών*, whose guidance he needed in his uncertainty about his objective. Servius (here and on *E.* 7.61) says that Hercules on his way to Hades, weary with his labours, made himself a poplar garland and returned to earth still wearing it, the lower side of the leaves made white by his sweat, the upper dark from contact with the underworld.

In *Roman* sacrifice the priest or magistrate in charge covered his head from a curious ostrich-like belief that if he could not see any bad omens there could not be any (at *A.* 3.403 ff. the custom is attributed to Helenus' advice to Aeneas); one of the Greek features of the cult at the Ara Maxima in historical times was that the presiding praetor sacrificed with uncovered head (Servius *auctus* on *A.* 8.288; Macrobius *Sat.* 3.6.17). *velavit* is ambiguous; it is the word used in connection with covering the head at *A.* 3.405, but *foliis innexa* suggests a garland, not a covering and *velo* is elsewhere also (*A.* 7.154, *A.* 11.101) weakened in sense to mean 'deck, adorn'. Servius (on *A.* 8.276) tells us that sacrificers at the Ara Maxima wore garlands of *laurel,* and whether or not Virgil has here made a mistake is the topic of erudite discussion in Macrobius *Sat.* 3.12.1 ff., where he is defended by the authority of a work of Varro now lost, to the effect that laurel was only used at the Ara Maxima after the laurel grove had been planted on the nearby Aventine, which was long after the founding of the city, and so would have been anachronistic in Virgil's account of Evander. Virgil may conceivably have read this in the second book of Varro's *Res Humanae,* but the association of the poplar with Hercules in myth is enough to explain his choice.

276 f. **dixerat...cum... / velavit**: for the *cum inversum* construction in general see the note on 26 ff. Here and at *A.* 5.84 ff. dixerat *haec, adytis* cum *lubricus anguis ab imis / ...volumina* traxit, the sense of *dixerat* is that of its 'absolute' use (see the note on 152) sharpened by the immediacy of the following context; translate 'he had just finished speaking, and then...'.

278 **et sacer implevit dextram scyphus**: the goblet (*scyphus* is a Greek loan-word = Latin *poculum*) was holy and huge. Servius had read *in libris antiquis* that Hercules had brought a huge wooden goblet to

Italy, which was smeared with pitch to prevent it rotting and used in sacrifices: some such vessel was no doubt part of the religious furniture at the Ara Maxima. Macrobius *Sat.* 6.21.16 also mentions *scyphus* as peculiar to the rites of Hercules. A *scyphus* is a votive offering to Hercules in *CIL* 5^2.6952. The 'goblet of Hercules' seems also to have become proverbial in connection with heavy drinking: cf. Plutarch *Alexander* 75 *σκύφον Ἡρακλέους ἐκπιεῖν* and Seneca *Epp.* 83.23 *intemperantia bibendi et ille Herculaneus ac fatalis scyphus condidit* (sc. *Alexandrum*).

279 Why is the libation poured *in mensam* and not *in aram*? The *sacra supellex* of every temple included tables for sacrifice (cf. *A.* 2.764), braziers, vessels, etc., all of which were of course consecrated. Such tables could be used instead of the altar (Macrobius *Sat.* 3.11.5 ff. and Festus p. 149 Lindsay (1913)). There are two reasons which make the substitution appropriate here: in primitive times and later the gods were believed to be actually present at the meal in their honour (cf. Ovid *Fasti* 6.307 ff. (of the cult of Vacuna) *ante focos olim scamnis considere longis / mos erat, et mensae credere adesse deos*); secondly, the worshippers at the Ara Maxima sat but did not recline, and Hercules there had a *mensa*, not, like other gods, a *lectus* (see Wissowa, *RuK*^{2} 281, n. 3). The Ara Maxima cult of Hercules, without *lectus* or *lectisternium*, probably dates from the fifth century B.C.; the first attested *lectisternium* for Hercules is dated 399 B.C., and this later cult was observed in temples near the Circus Flaminius.

280-305 *Evening comes on, and while the feasting continues a double chorus sings a hymn to Hercules, commemorating his victories over a series of monsters which culminates with Cacus.*

280 'Meanwhile the Evening Star draws nearer down the sloping sky.' *devexo*, 'sloping downwards' is equally appropriate to a star or constellation (Orion, Hor. *Odes* 1.28.21) sinking in the western sky, or to that part of the sky to which it was regarded as permanently fixed sinking to the horizon. The Evening Star was actually the *planet* Venus and so not fixed, but that is not in point here.

282 **pellibus in morem cincti**: in historical times the only religious ceremony at which animal skins were worn was the *Lupercalia*, and the *Luperci* were not officiating priests. Virgil was probably thinking of Hercules' lion-skin, and suggesting that the rite was a very ancient one; what historical justification he had for dressing the priests in skins we do not know.

283 f. **instaurant** here (and also most probably at *A.* 7.146) does not have its usual meaning that they begin all over again a rite which has been nullified by bad omens, for here that is not the case. They 'make a fresh start' and *resume* the feasting after some lapse of time: one of the peculiarities of the cult at the Ara Maxima was that sacrifice was offered both in the morning and in the evening (so Servius on *A.* 8.269). But looked at in terms of a usual banquet (see the note on 184 ff.) the second sacrifice and feast could be regarded as the second course (of a very protracted

meal), hence *mensa secunda* (Roman practice was to remove the small individual tables after they had been soiled by the first course, eaten without knives and forks, and to replace them by fresh ones for the dessert and wine of the second course). In 276-9 there is a ceremonial libation to Hercules to end Evander's story; evening comes on (280), and the regular evening meal then follows (283 f.): this all suits the present situation; *A*. 7.146 f. is not parallel.

There were other unusual and unRoman features of the cult: the general public was invited to participate (for Hercules was regarded as a protector in a very personal, individual way), but only the male public, women were excluded—and so are never represented by correct authors as using the oath *me hercle*; anything edible could be offered for the sacrifice and the feast, but it was prohibited to take home away from the sacred enclosure anything that remained over (a part of the *Graecus ritus*), and this was burnt. *dona ferunt* therefore refers to the offerings of all who were present, not exclusively to the *Salii* and the *dapes Saliares* of Horace *Odes* 1.37.2 ff.; and the *lances oneratae* might have contained almost anything (Servius quite wrongly says *exta reddunt*, as though no more time had elapsed than at an entirely *Roman* sacrifice between the slaying of the victim and the burning of the *exta* on the altar).

285 ff. Singing to honour and invoke the god to whom sacrifice has been made is heroic practice, cf. *Il*. 1.472 ff., where Apollo is hymned, as he is also by the Argonauts at Ap. Rh. 2.701 ff. Virgil may have had this passage at the back of his mind when he wrote this hymn to Hercules: they have one important structural feature in common. Virgil (293) introduces an abrupt change from third person reporting to the more vivid and engaging plane of second person address. Similarly in Apollonius, after Orpheus has sung of a youthful victory of Apollo over a monster, the god is addressed directly (708 f.) ἱλήκοις· αἰεί τοι, ἄναξ, ἄτμητοι ἔθειραι, / αἰὲν ἀδήλητοι· τῶς γὰρ θέμις. Servius, not in his commentary, but as the speaker in Macrobius *Sat*. 6.6, admired the change as a *mutatio elegantissima*, but was wrong to classify it with *figurata non a veteribus accepta*.

285 Virgil associates Salii with the cult of Hercules at the Ara Maxima, and it is quite clear from his mention of the cult title (*invicte* 293) and the general character of the hymn, that he is thinking of Hercules as a god of war. There is no other evidence of the 'Dancing Priests' being involved in this cult at Rome, where they were at various times *in tutela Iovis, Martis, Quirini* (Servius on *A*. 8.663). There is evidence, however, of their connection with the cult of Hercules at Tibur: did Virgil model his account of the Roman cult on this without historical justification, or is he echoing (or guessing) a true account not preserved anywhere else?

In the evolution of Roman religion, rituals of various forms came into existence long before the concept of anthropomorphic gods; and in historical times the ritual of the Salii was a symbolic copy of the primitive war-dance, performed in March and October (the beginning and end of the campaigning season). How they were selected is unknown, but the evidence of inscriptions shows that they were young men (see Latte, *RRG* 115, n. 1)

(so Virgil's semi-chorus of elders (287) is suspect). They were obviously available to be attached to any warlike god.

Knowledge of Hercules infiltrated gradually into Latium, directly through the Greek settlements of southern Italy and indirectly through the Etruscans. Unlike the cults which were introduced into Rome under State auspices and so formalised from the start, Hercules brought with him many associations of myth. The chief feature of the Ara Maxima cult was the *ex voto* dedication to him of tithes of profit from commercial and military enterprises; by the second century B.C. military dedications were by far the more important, but there is no reason to believe that they were so previously. In fact, the localisation of his cult near the *forum boarium*, the trading centre of the earliest settlement, strongly suggests that it was Hercules' reputation as a traveller and benefactor that attracted most attention in early times. (Current theories suggest that Hercules was assimilated to a preexisting cult, instituted by Phoenician traders, of their god Melqart; see J. Heurgon, *JRS* 56 (1966), 2 f.)

At Tibur, where Hercules was patron god of the settlement, his cult was also served by Salii and also included dedication of tithes (*decumae*); the interplay of influence between the two cults cannot be reconstructed; it has been suggested (see Jean Bayet, *Les Origines de l'Hercule Romain* (Paris, 1926), 322 ff.) that after 338 B.C., the date of the 'peace' between Rome and Tibur, the cult of Jupiter Invictus was transferred from the latter to the former, and with it the associated cult of Hercules Invictus, with the emphasis on his military character and his Salii. This is not improbable but cannot be proved. The complete lack of any corroboratory evidence for Salii being in the service of Hercules at Rome after he had established his military character there argues against its historicity.

The truth of Virgil's account was called into question as early as Macrobius (*Sat.* 3.12); he is defended there by the remark that Hercules Invictus and Mars were often held to be the same (as is true), but the identification was of course made on the basis of secondary developments and throws no light on the origins of their cults.

See further Wissowa, *RuK*² 272 f., Latte, *RRG* 215 ff. and the references there. Allegorists (Drew and Bellen, see the references in the note on 104) explain the connection of Salii with the Hercules of the Ara Maxima as an allusion to the inclusion in 29 B.C. *ex senatus consulto* of Octavian's name among the gods to be invoked in the *carmen Saliare*, the nearest concession he made to allowing himself to be worshipped in Rome: an attractive explanation, because as yet the only one. W. A. Camps, 98-104, and Appendix V, draws attention to another parallel between Octavian and Hercules: the consul who officiated at the thanksgiving in 29 B.C. was Valerius *Potitus* (cf. Potitius 269). Virgil seems consciously to point to the equation.

285 **altaria**: usually synonymous with *arae*, but here, in contrast to *aras* 284, it must have its primary meaning and refer to the combustible material (*incensa*) placed *on* the altar, the offering itself and the material

to burn it: cf. [Tibullus] 3.12.17 *celeres urunt altaria flammae*; Lucan 3.404 *structae diris altaribus arae*; *A.* 5.93 (*anguis*) *depasta altaria liquit.* This was why the priests brought torches (282), not primarily to give light, although evening does advance during the ceremony.

286 **populeis...ramis**: for the poplar garlands, see the note on 276; for adjective and noun 'framing' the line, see Appendix, p. 200.

286 **evincti tempora**: 'their brows bound round'; for the construction see the note on 29 *turbatus pectora.*

287 **hic iuvenum chorus, ille senum**: if Salii were associated with Hercules at Rome, it is unlikely that old men would have been thought appropriate to a warlike ritual. Conington suggests that Virgil is alluding to the older-established college of the Salii Palatini who served Mars, and the younger college of the Salii Collini (or Agonenses) who served Quirinus (although as regards the actual performance of the rite in historical times they were always amalgamated). This is possible but hardly likely. He may simply be reproducing the situation and division of 105 *una omnes iuvenum primi pauperque senatus*, recasting it into two ἡμιχόρια, to sing the very Greek hymn to Hercules.

287 **carmine**: there is of course (see the note on 285) no evidence of a *carmen Saliare* to Hercules at Rome. Fragments of a Salian hymn (to Mars) still exist, but the hymn itself was unintelligible to Augustan Romans (cf. Horace *Epp.* 2.1.86 ff.) and even to the priests themselves (Quintilian 1.6.40), and may well have been a pious fraud of religious archivists.

288 **prima**: not only the first of all the *monstra* Juno was going to inflict on him, but also = *primum*, 'at the very beginning of his life'; both meanings are appropriate to the context; Servius opts for the first—and then goes on to describe the circumstances of Hercules' birth.

Juno as the wife of Hercules' father but not herself his mother might in this sense be called *noverca*; the proverbial harshness of stepmothers is at least as old as Hesiod *W.D.* 825 ἄλλοτε μητρυιὴ πέλει ἡμέρη, ἄλλοτε μήτηρ.

289 **monstra...geminosque...anguis**: hendiadys, the simplest form of 'theme and variation'; *-que* is epexegetic (explanatory).

manu often (as at 294) indicates physical prowess and means simply 'by force', βίᾳ. Here it should be taken literally: 'how, to start with, he crushed and throttled with his bare hands the monstrous pair of snakes sent by his stepmother.'

eliserit: cf. *elisos* 261 and note.

The earliest authority for the detail that Hercules had only just been born when the snakes appeared is Pindar *Nemeans* 1.33 f. (Theocritus 24.1 makes him ten months old). The feat mentioned here is associated with the circumstances of his birth, which was the traditional way of beginning hymns to gods and heroes (cf. Horace *Odes* 1.10.1 *Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis*).

290 **bello** with *disiecerit*, and perhaps also with *egregias*, although Oechalia (in Euboea or Thessaly or Messenia: there was doubt in antiquity about which of these equally undistinguished alternatives was *the* Oechalia of Eurytus) and even Troy at the time of Hercules' expedition against

Laomedon could hardly be said to have a warlike reputation like the future Carthage of *A.* 1.444 f. *bello / egregiam...gentem.*

Military exploits were an expected item of hymns; how the Trojan guests reacted to the mention of Hercules' sack of Troy, we are not told, but the hymn was of course composed before they arrived.

V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (Heidelberg, 1963), 123, discussing similarities which suggest that Virgil wished to draw a close parallel between Hercules and Aeneas, points out that just as Eurytus had refused to give his daughter Iole to Hercules, so Latinus was unable to make good his promise to give his daughter Lavinia to Aeneas.

291 **duros mille labores**: Homer mentions specifically only one 'labour', the bringing of Cerberus from Hades (*Il.* 8.366 ff.); Hesiod names others, but the selection of the canonical twelve from the great mass of adventures connected with him was probably the work of the cataloguing Alexandrians (and *twelve* chosen because of the assimilation of the Tyrian Hercules to Gilgamesh). No kind of chronological coherence is to be looked for in the confused morass of legend.

291 Notice how the obvious Greekness of the Hymn to Hercules is maintained by the Greek flavour of the idiom *-que...-que* (here and in 294 at the beginning of the line: contrast the note on 94), connecting Greek proper names, as often in Homer; compare the exclusively Greek sea-nymphs at *G.* 4.336 *Drymoque Xanthoque Ligeaque Phyllodoceque.*

292 **Eurysthe͞o**: note the scansion: the two adjoining vowels coalesce into one sound (synizesis). Latin poetry from the neoterics onwards exercised considerable freedom in the declension of Greek proper names, many of which would have been intractable in verse without taking some liberty with them. Greek poetry from Homer offered many instances of synizesis in the terminations of proper names (e.g. *Il.* 1.1 *Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδε͞ω Ἀχιλῆος*), and this was gratefully imitated when Latin transferred Greek third declension names in *-ευς* to its second declension: so *Eurysthĕō* became *Eurysthe͞o*, *Nerĕō Nere͞o* (Prop. 3.7.67), *Nerĕī Nere͞i* (*A.* 8.383).

292 **fatis Iunonis iniquae**: 'through the decrees of harsh Juno', who was hostile to Hercules because of her jealousy of Alcmene, just as she was hostile to the Trojans because of her jealousy of Ganymede and resentment at the judgment of Paris (*A.* 1.26 ff.). But Hercules had triumphed over her obstacles: an encouraging example for the Trojans.

293 ff. Such of the canonical labours as Virgil mentions all fall within the 'quoted' part of the hymn:

(1) The Centaurs 'born of a cloud' (which Jupiter fashioned in the likeness of Juno when Ixion tried to rape her) included Hylaeus and Pholus who were slain in the battle between Centaurs and Lapithae, the most celebrated drunken brawl of Greek myth (cf. *G.* 2.455 ff.). Hercules participated, *en route* to the fourth labour, bringing back alive the wild boar of Mount Erymanthus.

(2) The Cretan bull, which according to some accounts fathered the Minotaur on Pasiphae, was captured by Hercules (as his seventh labour)

and taken *alive* to Eurystheus (*mactas* 294 is applicable to *Nemeae... leonem* but not strictly to *Cresia...prodigia*).

(3) The Nemean lion was killed by Hercules and its skin taken to Eurystheus (the first labour).

(4) The last labour was to descend to Hades and bring back Cerberus (296 f.); cf. *A*. 6.395 f.

(5) Typhoeus (or Typhon), hundred-headed and serpent-limbed, was the protagonist of the Giants in their battle against the Gods. Hercules was involved in some versions of a gigantomachy, but not as one of the canonical labours. Before Virgil, Euripides alone (*Hercules* 1271 f.) mentions a combat between Hercules and Typhon. Virgil probably regarded Typhoeus as one of the monsters Hercules saw in Hades, because (1) he was hurled down to Tartarus by a thunderbolt from the victorious Jupiter (cf. Hesiod *Theogony* 853 ff., 868 and *A*. 1.665); (2) he was a natural link between Cerberus (296) and the Lernaean Hydra, being the father of both (and the Chimaera's as well, Hesiod *Theogony* 304 ff.), and Virgil groups the *giant* Briareus with the Hydra and the Chimaera as terrors of the Underworld at *A*. 6.287 ff.

(6) The Hydra of Lerna was eventually killed by Hercules in his second labour by burning eight of the nine heads and burying the ninth and immortal one under a rock.

The tenth labour, the fetching of the cattle of Geryon, was amplified in Roman myth by the story of Cacus (largely modelled on it, see the note on 198).

293 ff. **tu** (293)...**tu** (294)...**te** (296 *bis*)...**te** (298)...**te** (299): the repeated pronouns (in the usual manner of invocations and hymns) punctuate the list of the ἀρεταὶ τοῦ θεοῦ (*laudes / Herculeas et facta* 287 f.); cf. the proem to Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* (the invocation to Venus); Horace *Odes* 2.19.17 ff. (and Fraenkel, *Horace* 200); Catullus 34.13 ff. (and Fordyce *ad loc.*); and see Norden, *Agnostos Theos* 149 ff.

293 **nubigenas, invicte, bimembris**: three compound adjectives in a row is unparalleled in Virgil. For their formation see the note on 82 *concolor*. *invictus* is common enough even in prose before Virgil: *nubigena* (only again in the *Aeneid* at 7.674, also in reference to the Centaurs) was apparently coined by him, and *bimembris* appropriated by him for high poetry from Cornificius (who had first used it according to Macrobius 6.5.13). Together they give a rhapsodic Greek flavour to the opening of this hymn of praise: the Homeric Hymns are full of them, cf., for example, 19 (to Pan) 1 f. Ἀμφί μοι Ἑρμείαο φίλον γόνον ἔννεπε Μοῦσα, / αἰγιπόδην δικέρωτα φιλόκροτον; Hymn 8 (to Ares) is a positive *tour de force* in stringing them together. Three compound adjectives also occur (but not together) in the famous encomium of Augustus in *A*. 6.791 ff. where Anchises predicts that his empire will stretch beyond the limits reached by *Hercules* and Bacchus: Norden (on 6.796 ff.) detects a 'dithyrambic' character in this passage, but there is no need to press this: Virgil was well within the Aristotelian canon (*Poet.* 1459a) that epic could make use of compound words, although these were primarily appropriate to dithyramb.

(In *invicte* there is certainly an allusion to the Roman cult-title of Hercules *Invictus*, which Haupt wished to make explicit by printing an initial capital letter here (*Hermes* 3 (1869), 153).)

294 **mactas**: for the present indicative in the context of a catalogue see the note on *generat* 141. *mactare* here simply = 'slaughter', with no religious overtones (see the note on 85).

294 The pause, slight here, after a trochee in the third foot is not very common in Virgil. It is *the* characteristic pause of Homeric poetry, but Latin's comparative lack of words ending with a short syllable made it impossible to naturalise it. When it does occur in Virgil it is often connected with a Greek proper name, as here and 440 *Aetnaei Cyclopes*; often also, as here, there is an enclitic *-que* before the pause, cf. 679 *populoque*, 688 *sequiturque*.

297 **ossa super recubans**: 'Where did he get his bones in that region of shadows?' asks Henry, hot, as usual, in pursuit of material realism. 'He devoured with great gusto the cake the Sibyl was so thoughtful as to bring with her. That cake, and unfortunate Pirithous, are the only food I ever heard from any reliable authority of his getting...Is the omission Virgil's or of Virgil's religion? I am inclined to think, of the latter.' But mythology is not completely silent on the point. The germ of the idea, which reappears in Statius *Th.* 2.29 *sparsa solo turbaverat ossa* (sc. *Cerberus*), is probably Hesiod's ὠμηστής (*Theog.* 311, cf. 772 f.) (so Maguire, *Hermathena* 11 (1885), 344).

297 **ossa super**: for the anastrophe see the note on 32 *inter*. *semesa*: for *semi-ēsa*, but the *i* which becomes semi-consonantal before a following short vowel (as in *semihominis*, see the note on 194), disappears completely before a long vowel, as here.

299 **arduus arma tenens**: cf. *A.* 3.70 *lenis crepitans vocat Auster in altum*, where Servius says *duo epitheta posuit vitiose...fecit autem hoc prope in decem versibus* (elsewhere in the *Aeneid* at 5.278, 567, 763 f., 838; 8.559, 683; 11.755; 12.902). Servius felt that the first adjective really had the force of an adverb, and should have been one. But Latin was not nearly so rich in adverbs as a modern language: some adjectives, like *arduus*, simply did not form them. In poetry, although they are not so hard to find in Lucretius, the growing refinement of poetic taste developed a distinct dislike for all but the commonest like *longe, alte, late*, which were virtually unavoidable (see Axelson 62 f.). So Virgil and other Augustan poets developed the two-adjective idiom on the basis of usages like Lucretius 1.258 f. *candens lacteus umor / uberibus manat distentis*, where the first adjective can be felt either as a true adjective in asyndeton with the second, or as qualifying it adverbially.

299 **rationis egentem** perhaps from Lucretius 4.502 f. *praestat rationis egentem / reddere mendose causas* but hardly in the same precise sense of 'one who cannot give the true explanation'; the sense is nearer to ἀμήχανος, 'resourceless'. According to one account (in, for example, Val. Fl. 7.623 f.) it was Pallas Athene who suggested to Hercules the use of fire to kill off the hydra; this was his second labour, and he was still *rudis* (Lucan 4.634).

301 **addite** agrees with *tu* implied by *salve*; *decus* is in apposition to *tu*. Hercules had proved that his father really was Jupiter by the feats he had accomplished; these were beneficent and civilising; his immortalisation not merely increased the company of the gods, but graced it (*decus*). Bentley's *deus* is unnecessary; cf. Statius *Th.* 1.22 (Domitian) *tuque o, Latiae decus addite famae.*

302 **dexter...pede...secundo**: the language of augury; *dexter* = *propitius, pede secundo* = *pede fausto* (Hor. *Epp.* 2.2.37). The greeting (*salve*) is followed by the wish for benevolent attention, a regular prayer-formula (cf. Livy 1.16.3).

303 f. 'to crown it all they add (the story of) Cacus' cave and the creature himself snorting with flames'.

305 = *A.* 5.149 f. *consonat omne nemus (vocemque inclusa volutant / litora, pulsati) colles clamore resultant.*

306-336 *After the ceremony Evander leads Aeneas home and tells him the history and legend of the landmarks they pass. The original inhabitants were Fauns and Nymphs and savages; a Golden Age of civilisation was introduced by Saturn, but gradually deteriorated, and the land changed its name under successive waves of invaders; Evander himself through divine guidance was the last to settle there.*

306 f. **se...ad urbem...referunt**: *The Site of Rome.* The Trojans had their first glimpse of the settlement on the Palatine when, rowing upstream, they rounded the Aventine. They came to land on the wooded bank alongside the *forum boarium*, in the south-east part of which lay the Ara Maxima, very near the site of the later temple of Hercules Victor (Nash 1, 472 ff.) at the north end of the Circus Maximus.

After the sacrifice they walk north, roughly parallel with the river, while Evander gives his account of the prehistory of Italy; with his concluding reference to his mother Carmentis (336), they have reached the river-end of the valley between the Palatine and Capitoline.

At the south-west foot of the Capitoline is the *ara Carmentalis* whose remains are perhaps identifiable (see Nash 1, 415). Nearby is the *porta* (338) which took its name from it, and was chiefly famed because its right-hand postern was the Porta Scelerata through which the Fabii were said to have marched to their extinction in 479 B.C. (Livy 2.49.8); some remains of the Porta Carmentalis were discovered in 1959 (see Gjerstad 3, 459 f.).

Evander then points in the direction of the *asylum* (342) which lay in the depression between the two summits of the Capitoline, *inter duos lucos*, in Augustan times (Livy 1.8.5); but for Virgil the whole of the hill is wooded (342). This very early *asylum* was presumably thought to have been under the protection of Veiovis (= Jupiter), the remains of whose temple *inter duos lucos* date from the middle of the second century B.C. (see Nash 2, 490 ff.). The *asylum* lay outside the boundaries of the primitive Palatine settlement: its foundation was ascribed to Romulus, as by

Virgil here (the poet speaks *in propria persona* through Evander's account in 342 f., 347 f. and 361).

As Evander and Aeneas look up the valley between Palatine and Capitoline, the *Lupercal* (343), a grotto in the base of the Palatine cliff, is on their right (extreme right, if Platner-Ashby are correct in locating it at the south-west foot of the hill, but no certain identification has yet been made).

But Evander calls attention not to the Forum-to-be, which now lay straight ahead of them, but to the wooded slope of the Quirinal beyond it, where later the street of the Argiletum led down to the Forum (see the note on 345, and Nash 1, 151 ff.).

Moving on up the valley, they pass the *Tarpeia sedes* (347), which could refer to the whole of the Capitoline hill (Varro *L.L.* 5.41), but here and at 652 (*Arx Tarpeia*) refers to the precipitous cliffs of the more southern peak (pictured in Nash 2, 409 f.), the *Capitolium* proper, as opposed to the more northern peak, the *arx Capitolii*. See the note on 652 for Tarpeia's connection with the Sabines, long after Evander.

On the *Capitolium* proper there stood in Virgil's day the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Nash 1, 530 ff.), splendidly restored (*aurea nunc* 348) by Q. Lutatius Catulus after the fire of 83 B.C., and again by Augustus, very sumptuously, in 26 B.C. (*R.G.* 20). (For the nearby temple of *Iuppiter Tonans* see the note on 352 ff.) In Evander's day the Capitolium was covered with a numinous grove (like the *arx* of Latinus' city, *A.* 7.172).

Evander (*pace* Mackail) does not climb the Capitoline (he is far too frail for that!), but with Varronian learning (*L.L.* 5.41 f.) points out the relics of two abandoned prehistoric settlements, the hill of the Janiculum across the river (358), and at hand the *Arx Saturnia*, the Capitolium proper (see further the note on 357 f.).

Rounding the north side of the Palatine, Evander and Aeneas then climb up it (*subibant* 359) to a spot from which they can see the sites of the *forum Romanum* and the *Carinae*. The *forum Romanum* (361) did not come into existence until the spreading settlements on other hills required a more central market than the riverside mart in the *forum boarium* which had served the original Palatine settlement. The *Carinae*, 'Keels' (361) was so called, according to Servius, from the keel-shaped appearance of certain buildings; in late Republican and Augustan times it was a very fashionable and luxurious quarter on the south-west spur of the Esquiline, facing the north-east slope of the Palatine (Pompey once had a house there, appropriated by Mark Antony). Evander's house itself (366) was obviously very near and very like that of Augustus (Suetonius *Augustus* 72), 'not conspicuous for its lavishness...and for more than forty years he slept in the same bedroom winter and summer' (whereas luxurious houses had both *cubicula aestiva* and *hiberna*).

Evander's promenade follows the topography of the three central and isolated hills of the Tiber's east bank; the Janiculum owes its mention to the legendary connection between Saturnus and Janus: see the note on 357 f.

See R. Pichon, *REA* 16 (1914), 410 ff. and P. Grimal, *REA* 50 (1948),

348 ff. for discussions of Evander's promenade, very much in the tradition of Gaston Boissier, and with very questionable archaeological identifications.

Virgil omits all mention of the tradition, common in descriptions of early Rome (Tib. 2.5.33 f.; Prop. 4.9.5 f., 4.2.7 f.; Ovid *Fasti* 6.405 ff.), that the valley of the Velabrum between Capitoline and Palatine was in olden times a stagnant arm of the Tiber (and in Augustan times still the route by which the flooding river could threaten the *forum Romanum*, cf. Horace *Odes* 1.2.13 ff.). If Virgil had this in mind, Evander must be supposed to round the Palatine keeping close to its lower slopes—and there is nothing in the narrative to contradict this.

307 **obsitus aevo**: 'overgrown with age'; *obsitus* (like *consitus*) literally = 'thick-sown', an old and typically Latin (agricultural) metaphor, cf. Plautus *Menaechmi* 756 ff. *consitus sum / senectute, onustum gero corpu', vires / reliquere,* and Terence *Eunuchus* 236 *video sentum* (literally 'thorny', cf. *A.* 6.462 *loca senta situ*) *squalidum aegrum, pannis annisque obsitum.*

310 **facilis** either accusative plural with *oculos* or nominative singular with *Aeneas*; in either case translatable as an adverb of manner: see the note on 30 *seram.*

310 **omnia circum**: a simple case of anastrophe; see the note on 32 *inter.*

311 **capitur**: 'is capitivated'; *capere* = 'to charm' is common in love-elegy (see *TLL* 3,337 f. *s.v.*); cf. also Cic. *Cael.* 42 ...*si quem forte inveneritis qui aspernetur oculis pulchritudinem rerum, non odore ullo, non tactu, non sapore capiatur, excludat auribus omnem suavitatem*...

312 **monimenta**: with *monere* 'to put someone in mind of something' are cognate *monimentum* 'reminder' (hence 'memorial' of the dead, etc.), and *monstrum,* that which puts one in mind of the will of the gods.

313 **Romanae conditor arcis**: that the Palatine and not the Capitoline should be described as *arx Romana* is a clear indication of how serious a rival the legend of the Arcadian foundation of Rome was to the traditional story of Romulus. Romulus was associated with the Capitol, whose religious importance had been devalued in Augustan Rome by the temple of Apollo and Augustus' own house on the Palatine.

314-32 *The prehistory of Latium.* This excursus, full of Roman associations, is a perfect balance to the Greek mythology of the hymn to Hercules. It is a combination of elements from four sources: Lucretius, folk-etymology, Hesiod, and Roman antiquarianism.

(1) 314-8 is almost a résumé of Lucretius' famous account of man in the earliest times (5.925 ff.); cf. especially *at genus humanum multo fuit illud in arvis / durius, ut decuit, tellus quod dura creasset* (925 f.); *nec robustus erat curvi moderator aratri* (933); *nec commune bonum poterant spectare neque ullis / moribus inter se scibant nec legibus uti* (958 f.). The *rami* are those of the acorn-bearing oak (Lucr. 5.939), and the *asper victu venatus* is described more fully at 5.966 ff.

Whenever Virgil touched on any part of the creation-myth he found it

impossible to forget Lucretius (*E.* 6.31 ff.; *G.* 2.476-82; *G.* 4.221-7; *A.* 1.743; *A.* 6.724 ff.). But nymphs and fauns are the stuff of poetry, and Virgil chose not to follow Lucretius (4.572 ff.) who had rationalised them away as the fantasies of rustics who did not understand echoes and the science of sound.

(2) 319-25. The commonly held view was that man evolved from primitive anarchy when organised into communities by the natural leaders (so, for example, Lucr. 5.1105 ff., and Cic. *Sest.* 91 f.): again a 'scientific' view, unexciting poetically. The connection of Saturn with a Golden Age of agriculture depends ultimately on a piece of folk-etymology (see the note on 319 f.); it is a well-worn theme with Virgil, but worked out with different associations, which should not be missed here: it is an age of blissful hope and peace (*E.* 4.4 ff.), like the age of the simple, sturdy way of life which made Rome great (*G.* 2.532 ff.) and which prevailed in Latium when Aeneas arrived (*A.* 7.202 ff.); it will be inaugurated again (*A.* 6.792 ff.) by Augustus, a second great civiliser, who will put an end to the *aspera saecula* of interminable civil war (*A.* 1.291).

(3) 326 f. But the Age of Gold became discoloured (*decolor*), ending with the Age of Iron under the reign of Jupiter (*G.* 2.536 ff.). Here, as at *G.* 1.121 ff., Virgil pictures two Ages only, associated with Saturn and Jupiter respectively: Hesiod *W.D.* 109 ff. had five, Ovid *Met.* 1.89 ff. has four, Aratus *Phaen.* 114 ff. three. In the Golden Age each land was self-supporting (Hesiod *W.D.* 116 ff.); but one symptom of man's degeneracy was greed (*amor habendi*) which led him to violate the natural boundaries of the land and sail the seas for commerce or war. It would have been quite precedented at this point either to blame Jupiter (*G.* 1.129 ff.) or to curse the man who first set sail (Horace *Odes* 1.3.21 ff.); instead Virgil thinks of the implications of this for Italy—invasion by foreign tribes.

(4) 328-32: a brief mention of names to evoke the dim and distant past (see the note on 328 and 330 f.).

314 Note the typically Virgilian combination of Greek nymphs and native Latin fauns, although in this case he had been forestalled by Lucretius (4.580 f.). Here the *Fauni* are indigenous *before* the arrival of Saturn; at *A.* 7.47-9 Faunus is the father of Latinus and *grandson* of Saturn: unlike most mythographers Virgil makes no attempt to impose a spurious precision on details of this kind.

315 **gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata**: the belief that men were born from the ground or from trees seems to have been widespread among very primitive communities, a product of the animistic outlook which invested everything, living and inert, with a life and soul of its own. Such a belief could be seriously put forward by Hesiod *W.D.* 145, describing 'Bronze Age' man, or scoffed at in Homer's time, cf. *Od.* 19.163 (Penelope asking about Odysseus' family) *οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυός ἐσσι παλαιφάτου οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης*, 'for you are not from the proverbial oak and rock' (there may be a reference here to the oracular oak-trees of Dodona, where Greek tradition located the first dwelling-place of the human race, cf. *G.* 1.7 f.). It could also be turned into a taunt: at *Il.* 16.33 ff. Homer

makes Patroclus say to Achilles *νηλεές, οὐκ ἄρα σοί γε πατὴρ ἦν ἱππότα Πηλεὺς / οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ· γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα / πέτραι τ' ἠλίβατοι, ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής*, and so launched one of the most popular of literary commonplaces (see Pease's instructive note on *A.* 4.366 f.).

The view that men were born of rocks and stones is alluded to by Virgil, *G.* 2.340 f. (the spring-time of the world) *cum primae lucem pecudes hausere, virumque / terrea progenies duris caput extulit arvis*, and was the basis of the creation-myth of Deucalion and Pyrrha (Ovid *Met.* 1.313 ff.). The concept was perhaps promoted by a belief in the magical connection (*nomen omen*) of *λᾶας* 'stone' and *λαός* 'people'.

316 **quis** (dat. pl.): poetic and colloquial equivalent of *quibus*: see *N-W* 2, 469.

mos = 'code of behaviour', cf. *A.* 6.852 *pacique imponere morem.*

318 **rami** (*alebant*) sc. *fructibus*, cf. *G.* 2.500 f.

318 **asper victu**: cf. *A.* 1.445 *facilem victu...gentem. victu* is an ablative of respect (or limitation), an offshoot chiefly of the ablative of instrument (but see Woodcock 38).

319 f. Greek myth (from Hesiod *Theogony* 453 ff.) told of how Cronus tried to defeat the prophecy that he would be dethroned by one of his sons (by his sister Rhea) by swallowing them in turn. Zeus however was hidden away at birth on Crete, and grew up to fulfil the prophecy (in one version of the story actually killing his father with a thunderbolt).

The original attributes of Saturn as a god of Roman religion are very obscure; Greek influence certainly modified his cult at a very early date, if it was not there from the very first. In historical times at his temple in the *forum Romanum* at the foot of the *Clivus Capitolinus*, the oldest in Rome after Jupiter's temple on the Capitol itself, he was worshipped with uncovered head (Servius on *A.* 3.407)—a sign of *Graecus ritus* (as also with Hercules, see the note on 276), and his image was that of the Greek Cronus.

In Roman myth (where his wife-sister is Ops, goddess of plenty) he is chiefly associated with agricultural prosperity and the Golden Age in Italy (*G.* 2.538, *A.* 6.792 ff.); folk-etymology connected his name with sowing (*ab satu est dictus Saturnus*, Varro *L.L.* 5.64), and this may be responsible for agricultural connections which he did not originally possess.

319 **primus** here should primarily be taken as adverbial = *primum*, 'first of all', picked up by *tum...tum* in 328, 330; but its sense clearly extends also to *is genus indocile...composuit*, he was the first (of a series) to civilise Latium.

322 **legesque dedit**: here Saturn 'gave laws', but in *A.* 7.202-4 we were told that the 'race of Saturn' lived without them. The contradiction results from Virgil's different intentions in the two passages. Here he wishes to hint at the affinity, as lawgivers, between Saturn and other figures: Evander in this book, Aeneas elswhere in the poem (*A.* 3.132 ff.; 12.190 ff.), and Augustus in contemporary practice and poetry.

322 f. '...and preferred the name Latium, because he had lain hid

safely in these parts'. *Latium* was preferred to *Saturnia tellus* (329); cf. Ovid *Fasti* 1.237 f. *inde diu genti mansit Saturnia nomen; / dicta quoque est Latium terra latente deo.* The reason for the name depends on a piece of folk-etymology, which Virgil would have liked (and may have been the first to bring into connection with Saturnus, Binder 85 and n. 42) (cf. the note on 425 *Pyracmon*), connecting *Latium* with *latere*. Examples of this kind (they abound in Varro's *De Lingua Latina*) often have the air of a bad pun, but one should remember that the feeling of mystic power in names, especially as omens, was deep-seated among the Romans. Varro (quoted by Servius here) subscribed to a more prosaic derivation: (*Latium*) *quod latet Italia inter praecipitia Alpium et Apennini.*

323 **latuisset**: for the subjunctive in a causal clause, see the note on 129 f.

324 **aurea quae perhibent**: 'the age (*saecula* poetic plural) which they style "Golden"'; note the idiomatic word-order, as usual in prose also.

(The misreading of *aurea quae* as *aureaque*, easy in undivided capital script, disrupted the metre, which in the later MS tradition was healed by inserting *ut* before *perhibent*. For the preferability of *fuere* to the variant *fuerunt* see the note on 53.)

328 Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.60 *ad fin.*) gives the following succession of immigrants to the site of Rome: (1) Siculi, (2) Aborigines, (3) Pelasgians from Thessaly, (4) Evander and followers, (5) Hercules and followers, (6) Aeneas and followers. Almost all other ancient authorities agree in giving priority to the Siculi, whose king Italus (Thucydides 6.2.4) was the eponymous coloniser of Italia, 'calf-land' (ἰταλός being = *vitulus* according to both ancient and modern etymologists); Virgil is the first to refer to them as *gentes Sicanae*. *Ausonius* elsewhere = 'Italian' in a wide sense; the reference here may more narrowly be to the Aurunci (etymologically connected with *Ausones*), settled in historical times between the Volturnus and the Liris. But for Virgil the names are evocative of prehistory, ancient, vague and confused: to list their changes (cf. *nomen posuit* 329) was expected in an encomium of a city or territory. See further Rehm 64 ff. and n. 139, and for the ethnology of the *Sicani*, *CAH* 4, 436 ff.

Sĭcānae here, as always at the end of a verse in Virgil, is an innovation *metri causa*; *Sĭcănĭum* (416) is the traditional form (Homer *Od.* 24.307).

329 **Saturnia tellus** recalls Ennius' *Saturnia terra* (*Ann.* 25 V), and Evander's excursus on the prehistory of Latium, especially its references to Saturn, may owe something to Ennius' description of it (at the time of Aeneas' arrival?) in *Ann.* 23 ff. V.

329 **posuit** here for *deposuit*, cf. *A.* 11.308 f. *spem si quam ascitis Aetolum habuistis in armis* / (de)*ponite*; but contrast *A.* 7.63 *Laurentisque ab ea nomen* (im)*posuisse colonis*, and *A.* 8.639 *posito* for com*posito*. Other instances of simple for compound verbs are given in the note on 110, and cf. *A.* 11.211 (e)*ruebant*, 375 (pro)*vocat.*

330 f. Virgil is silent about the provenance of the eponymous hero Thybris: ancient speculation was rife (Servius on 72 and 330); one version,

followed by Livy 1.3.8, made him a king of Alba; another (in, for example, Varro *L.L.* 5.30), more plausibly, an Etruscan.

330 ff. Ogilvie (*Livy 1-5*, 43) points out that the driving out of the name *Albula* by the name *Tiberis/Thybris* 'represents the victory of the Etruscan language (*Thebris*) over the indigenous': he supports the theory that *Albula* has nothing to do with *Latin albus* but, like 'Alps', derives from a pre-Indo-European word = 'mountain'. Servius on *A.* 8.332, however, connects the name with the colour of the water (which has nothing necessarily to do with mountains). *Albula(e)* was also the name given to sulphur springs at Tibur (Tivoli), which were and are used medicinally, and can still be detected from some distance; the sulphurous waters of the Nar, which flows into the Tiber, are mentioned by Ennius (*Ann.* 260 V), and Virgil, *A.* 7.517 *sulpurea Nar albus aqua.* So there is a strong possibility that deposits of sulphur (and calcium) in the Tiber basin did actually give the water a whitish colour, and this is what the Romans at any rate would have connected with the name.

331 **Ĭtali**: the first vowel is naturally short, as here; metrical pressure caused it to be lengthened, first in Latin by Catullus (1.5), after Callimachus (see Norden 141). With the *adjective Italus* Virgil preferred to observe the natural quantity rather than follow the Greek irrational lengthening; the noun *Ītălĭa* compelled him to follow it; see Leumann 146, n. 3.

333 Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.31) knew of a tradition that Evander's immigration took place about sixty years before the Trojan war, and his followers were so few that they occupied only two fishing-boats (cf. 473 *exiguae vires*).

333 **pulsum patria**: because at the instigation of his mother he had murdered his father Echenus (other versions say that Echenus was not his real father—that was Hermes/Mercury).

333 **pelagique extrema sequentem**, 'pursuing the ocean's very limits'. Navigation in the heroic age tended to be timorous and unadventurous; while searching for the promised land, Evander (like Aeneas) found the voyage so long that it seemed that the shores he was looking for must be receding from him: the same sentiment underlies *A.* 3.496 f. *arva neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro / quaerenda*; *A.* 5.629 f. *Italiam sequimur fugientem.* A similar phrase is used of Dido at *A.* 6.457 *ferroque extrema secutam* in reference to her suicide, and it may have been this and other phrases like it which led Tiberius Donatus (cited by Servius on this passage) to interpret the present passage to mean 'going to meet death on the high seas': this entails taking *pelagi* as locative, which is unparalleled and unlikely (see *LHSz* 2, 149).

334 Servius here says *secundum stoicos locutus est, qui nasci et mori fatis dant, media omnia fortunae: nam vitae humanae incerta sunt omnia.* A sharp opposition between destiny which is inescapable (cf. *A.* 10.467) and chance which is capricious (cf. *A.* 5.709 f.) is certainly Stoic, and probably present in this passage. But Bailey's analysis of Virgil's use of *fortuna* (*RV* 234 ff.) shows that it ranges freely from 'chance' to 'fate' itself.

334 An accumulation of five-word lines (here, 338, 341) is a sign of the elaboration of the high style in the passage in which they occur: cf. examples in the proem (1-48) of *G.* 3, and the Aristaeus episode (315-558) of *G.* 4.

336 ff. **Carmentis**: the original attributes of Carmentis (or Carmenta) as a Roman deity are not known for certain, and probably were not remembered by the first century B.C. Etymological guesses were made, which may throw light on the original situation, or at any rate have been influential in remoulding the cult of the forgotten goddess:

(1) with *carpentum*, the covered carriage used by *matronae* in religious processions. This connection, coupled with the interpretation of her cult-titles *Postvorta* and *Antevorta* (or *Prorsa* or *Porrima*) to refer to the two positions in which a child may emerge from the womb (an interpretation current in the Augustan period), suggested that she was a goddess of childbirth, and worshipped as such at the *Carmentalia* on 11 and 15 January;

(2) with *carmen*, first in its original meaning of 'magical spell': this supplemented (1) above, and made of Carmenta a weaver of spells for good or ill at the birth of a child.

Later, stress was placed on another meaning of *carmen*, 'prophetic utterance', and a relation seen between Carmenta and Ca(s)mena; this is the connection Virgil is concerned with. He makes her a water-nymph (336, 339), who, like other water-deities (e.g. Egeria and Tiberinus), would naturally be credited with prophetic powers; this he emphasises in 340, *vatis fatidicae, cecinit*. This view caused her cult-titles to be re-interpreted to refer to her power of looking into the past and the future.

When the worship of Evander as a demi-god passed into Italy, Carmentis was identified with his mother, the local Arcadian nymph Themis or Nicostrate; as such she was believed by some to have taught the Italian Aborigines to write (a benefit attributed by other authorities (e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 11.14.4) to Evander himself); and she was considered to be the Italian Sibyl. Like the Cumaean Sibyl, she would be inspired by Apollo: in 336 we are to understand that the 'warnings' of Carmentis were prompted by Apollo.

See further Wissowa, *RuK*² 219 ff., Ogilvie on Livy 1.7.8.

336 **deus auctor Apollo**: Apollo's gifts of prophecy and prediction were particularly valued by the Greeks in a mapless age when they were engaged in travelling. His advice as guide and archegete was sought on voyaging to war (*Il.* 1.71 f.), and more often when embarking to found a new colony: in this sense Apollo was the *auctor*, 'patron' of Evander's settlement. The same association of ideas lies behind *A.* 6.56 ff., Aeneas' prayer to the Apollo of Cumae, esp. 59 *tot maria intravi duce te,* and 69 f. where Aeneas promises a temple and festival to Apollo if he grants him a settlement in Italy.

337–358 *They pass the Ara and Porta Carmentalis, named after Evander's prophetic mother, Romulus' Asylum, the Lupercal, the Argiletum, the Tarpeian Rock and the Capitol, with its awe-inspiring grove, and finally the Janiculum is pointed out.*

337–9 'Scarcely were the words spoken when next he moves on and points out both the altar and the gate which the Romans call by the name "Carmentalis", an ancient tribute to the nymph Carmentis.'

337 **dehinc** is here scanned as an iambus, as usually in Virgil; occasionally it is scanned as a monosyllable by synizesis (cf. *deinde* 66).

339 **honorem**: for the accusative in apposition, either with *portam* or with the whole preceding sentence, see the note on 487.

340 **fatidicae**: 'soothsaying, prophetic'; *fatum* (from *fari*) = the spoken word, originally that of the prophet or seer.

340 **prima**: *quia postea etiam sibylla dixit*, Servius, referring to *the* Sibyl of Cumae.

342 f. **lucum...quem Romulus acer asylum / rettulit**: Livy 1.8.5, recording the same event, says ...*locum qui nunc saeptus escendentibus inter duos lucos est asylum aperit. rettulit* here is probably equivalent to *reddidit*, 'a grove...which Romulus brought into a new use, as a sanctuary', cf. *A.* 11.425 f. *multa dies variique labor mutabilis aevi / rettulit in melius* (= *meliora reddidit*). *referre* often means 'to repeat' in some way or other, and Servius here (followed by Henry) paraphrases *rettulit* 'created in imitation of the Athenian asylum', and in view of the Greco-Roman syncretism of 343 f., there may be such an additional meaning here.

quem Romulus...rettulit is a footnote added by Virgil speaking *in propria persona*: it would of course be anachronistic for Evander to say it.

343 f. '...the Lupercal, called after the Arcadian tradition of the Lycean Pan'. Parrhasia was a town of southern Arcadia, and the adjective is loosely applied after the usual fashion to the whole district: Evander is called *Parrhasius* at *A.* 11.31, although his city was Pheneus (*A.* 8.165) in the north of Arcadia. The *mons Lycaeus* was also in Arcadia in the Parrhasia region.

Virgil seems to be suggesting that the Arcadian Evander introduced the worship of the Arcadian Pan: it suited his mise-en-scène to follow antiquarians who assumed *Lupercal* to be derived from *lupus* and *arceo* ('warding-off wolves') and inspired by Pan's title *Λυκαῖος* taken to be derived *not* from the mountain but from *λύκος* = wolf. (Virgil therefore is probably not following the same tradition as Ovid *Fasti* 2.423 f. *quid vetat Arcadio dictos a monte Lupercos? / Faunus in Arcadia templa Lycaeus habet*, and the *monte* of some inferior MSS, preferred by Schrader, is a misleading facilitation.) The same theory made easy the identification of Pan and Faunus, who were in any case both rustic deities, and easily conceived as protectors of flocks.

The favourite explanation of Lupercal (as, for example, in Ovid *Fasti* 2.381 ff.) made it the cave where the she-wolf, *lupa*, suckled Romulus and Remus—long after the time of Evander according to traditional chronology.

The phraseology of 344 is slightly contorted: Servius was puzzled, but his paraphrase is unacceptable (*ordo est: monstrat Lupercal Panos Lycaei, dictum de more Parrhasio, id est, ostendit Lupercal Panos Lycaei, dicatum ex more Arcadico*).

The Lupercal itself had a topical interest: it was restored by Augustus (*R.G.* 19, and App. 2): see the note on 663 ff.

345 f. In Augustan times the Argiletum was a street between the Subura and the *forum Romanum* which it entered between the Curia Julia and the Basilica Aemilia. The name was probably derived, as in one tradition preserved by Varro (*L.L.* 5.157), from *argilla*, 'clay', and perhaps designated the potters' quarter. Folk-etymology saw in it *Argi-letum*, and invented the story, told by Servius here, of 'a certain Argus' who plotted to kill Evander and usurp his position; he was detected and killed by the followers of Evander, who however built and consecrated a tomb for him because he had been his guest. 345 f. then mean 'and he also points out the grove of the consecrated Argiletum, and calls upon the spot to vouch for his account of the death of his guest Argus' (the fact that he had given holy burial proved his own innocence in the matter). But another interpretation is hinted at in the Servian commentary: *sacer* ('taboo') can mean 'accursed' as well as 'holy', and it is just conceivable that *testatur* might in the Virgilian manner stand for the compound *detestatur*; the lines would then mean 'and he also points out the grove of the accursed Argiletum, and execrates the place in his account of the death of his guest Argus' (who had so violated the sanctity of hospitality).

Attempts to solve the problem of *testaturque locum* by emendation are too violent to be convincing: see *Bursian* 59 (1889), 167 for *ostenditque locum* (O. Güthling); *testatumque loco* or *taetratumque locum leto* (P. Deuticke).

345 **Argileti**: elsewhere the polysyllabic proper name ending a spondeiazon is Greek (see the note on 54 *Pallanteum*); this is precedent for the Latin name here (cf. the immediately preceding *Pallanteum* 341). Norden 439 suggests that it may already have occurred in a passage of Ennius dealing with the same subject-matter.

347 **ad Tarpeiam sedem**: see the note on 652 *Tarpeiae...arcis*.

348 ff. Groves and woods on uncleared land were unfamiliar and awe-inspiring to a primitive population, and so naturally accredited with a *numen*: the memory of this lingers on in the Augustan poets. Virgil (*A.* 7.81 ff.) speaks of the groves beneath 'lofty Albunea' which were haunted by Faunus, Ovid (*Fasti* 3.295 ff.) of the oak-grove which had stood on the Aventine 'at the sight of which you might say "There is *numen* here"' (and cf. *Amores* 3.1.1 f., 3.13.7 f.). Seneca (*Epp.* 41) sermonising Lucilius on the text *sacer intra nos spiritus sedet*, was reminded of *A.* 8.352 which he quotes, and amplifies Virgil's description of the grove as a proof from nature (as opposed to man) of the existence of the divine; he goes on to say that the same conviction comes from deep caverns and the sources of mighty rivers: was he thinking of Cacus' cave and the source of the Tiber, also in *A.* 8?

Numinous groves existed also in primitive Germany (Tac. *Germ.* 9.3)

and in Anglo-Saxon England (R. Branston, *The Lost Gods of England* 30).

348 **aurea . . . horrida**: the contrast between the past and present state of the Capitol became a *locus tritus* in Augustan poetry, cf. especially Propertius 5.1.5 ff.; Tibullus 2.5.23 ff. The *laquearia* of the Capitoline temple had been gilded in the censorship of L. Mummius (142 B.C.); but it was Catulus who had the bronze roof-tiles gilded (see the note on 306 ff.), and provoked mixed criticism from his contemporaries (Pliny *N.H.* 33.(18).57).

horrida is both descriptive, 'bristling', and emotive, 'shudder-making' (made explicit in the following lines).

The *nemus* on the Capitol included the *specific* oak-tree thought to be the dwelling of the *numen*. It was on this that Romulus was said to have hung the *spolia opima*. Later there was an *ara* and then a very small temple, eventually restored by Augustus. This was the cult of *Iuppiter Feretrius*, the oldest on the Capitol; later it was overshadowed by the more splendid temple of Jupiter Capitolinus built by the Etruscans (see Warde Fowler, *RE* 129 f.).

349 f. A good example of how anaphora (here the repeated *iam tum*) can be used to organise a 'theme and variation' instead of a simple copula; other examples are frequent.

349 f. **religio** . . . / **dira loci**: 'the dreadful awesomeness of the place', a good illustration of the basic meaning of *religio*, although the emphasis is more often on the person feeling a 'sense of awe' (as at 598) than on the object inspiring it. Cic. *Nat. Deorum* 2.72 derived the word from *relegere*, but modern etymologists follow Servius on this line in connecting it with *rĕligare* (so the fundamental meaning of *religio* would be 'scruple', 'inhibition').

349 *religio* and *reliquiae* (356) both have a naturally short first syllable, lengthened purely to suit hexameter poetry: a genuinely 'irrational' lengthening, but helped by the intermediate stage *rell-*, with the consonant doubled after the model of early Latin *redduco* (*rĕduco*), and perhaps also of perfects like *repperi*, *rettuli*.

352 ff. Jupiter as weather-god, sender of thunder and lightning, had cult-centres on hilltops throughout Latium. This basic character survived uncontaminated in a very ancient temple in the Campus Martius (*Iuppiter Fulgur*). P. Grimal (*REA* 53 (1951), 51-61) may be right in seeing in this passage an allusion to the temple of *Iuppiter Tonans* on the more southerly of the two peaks of the Capitoline hill, dedicated by Augustus, after a miraculous escape from being killed by lightning, on 1 September 22 B.C. (which according to Grimal provides a *terminus post* for the composition not only of this episode but of the whole book).

353 **cum saepe**: the full meaning here is 'when, as often happens', cum, *ut* saepe *fit*; *saepe* often has this pregnant sense at the beginning of similes after *qualis* or *ceu*; cf. *A*. 1.148, 5.273, 5.527, 10.723. See Munro on Lucretius 5.1231.

354 See the note on 435 for Jupiter raising storm-clouds with the aegis.

357 f. It is likely that there was originally a cult of the *god* Janus on the

Janiculum, but if there was, it had disappeared by historical times, and euhemerist interpretation of the memory made of Janus an early king of the district like Saturn (coupled together also at *A*. 7.180 f.), whom he welcomed to a share of his kingdom; cf. Augustine *De Civ. Dei* 7.4 following Varro: *Saturnum fugientem benignus excepit* (*Ianus*)*; cum hospite partitus est regnum, ut etiam civitates singulas conderent, iste Ianiculum, ille Saturniam* (Servius on *A*. 8.319 says the same).

Ianiculum has generally been taken to refer to the ridge on the west side of the Tiber whose highest point is almost due east of the Palatine. P. Grimal (*RA* 23-4 (1945), 56-87), assuming (correctly) that Evander does not actually climb the Capitol, and that *hanc...huic...illi* have a strictly local reference (which is not absolutely certain), argues that this is topographically impossible, and that *Ianiculum* means the *arx Capitolii* (the north side of the hill), and *Saturnia* (*Arx*) the more southerly summit of the hill; he assembles evidence to show that the name *Ianiculum* was not given to the Transtiberine region until comparatively late—but that is surely what a contemporary of Virgil's would have understood by it.

358 **fuerat**: the pluperfect indicative (especially *fueram* and *habueram*) is sometimes found in contexts where at first sight a perfect or imperfect might have been expected. The usage seems to originate in a vigorous idiom of ordinary speech to stress that a given action or state in the past *was* well and truly over and done with. It has a continuous history in colloquial and vernacular styles from Plautus (cf. Lindsay, *The Syntax of Plautus* 62 f.) through Cicero's letters to Petronius and later, and occasionally invades more serious literary styles as well. It can be argued in some cases that the pluperfect is used quite in accordance with its conventional time-reference, and the difficulty is only an apparent one caused by literal English translation; e.g. *non sum ego quod fueram* (Ovid *Tr*. 3.11.25), *literally* rendered 'I am not what I had been', would have conveyed to a Roman 'I am not what I long ago ceased to be'.

See further Palmer, *L.L.* 308, *KS* 1, 140 f., *LHSz* 2, 320 f., Fordyce on Catullus 10.28 and 64.158.

The present line is additionally puzzling because to an Augustan Roman (and Virgil allows Evander here to speak anachronistically like one) the *Ianiculum* was still so called, but nobody referred to the *Capitolium* as *Arx Saturnia*; so here *fuerat nomen* cannot be taken with *huic* to mean 'long ago ceased to be called'. Translate: 'This was long ago given the name Janiculum, that Saturnia.'

358 **Saturnia** (sc. *arx*): cf. Varro *L.L.* 5.42 who says of the Capitol *hunc antea montem Saturnium appellatum prodiderunt.*

359-369 *Evander leads Aeneas through the meadow which is to be the busiest and most magnificent part of Rome, and welcomes him to his modest home. Night falls.*

360 f. **videbant...mugire**: see the note on 35.

361 **lautis...Carinis**: *lautus*, 'chic', here makes its unique appear-

ance not only in Virgil, but in all poetry, epic or lyric, of the high style. There is a pointed editorial comment: the *quartier chic* of metropolitan Rome has lost the true values of Evander's *paupertas*. The confused scholia of Servius *auctus* on this passage are disentangled by S. Timpanaro *RFIC* 95 (1967), 428 ff.

362 **limina**: poetic plural; *limen* = the threshold (*inferum*) or lintel (*superum*), and then (*pars pro toto*), a door, doorway or house. Here *limina subiit* = 'stooped to pass under this lintel'.

363 **subiīt**: note the scansion. Originally the last syllable of the perfects *iit* and *petiit* (and of course their compounds) was long by nature; in archaic Latin inscriptions it is found spelt *-eit*. By Virgil's time the last syllable was regularly short; here he restores its earlier length, while keeping to his rule that the syllable must bear the ictus and precede a caesura (here a main caesura coincident with a sense-pause). See the note on 98 *procul*.

363 **cepit**: 'contained, had room for'; cf. *A*. 9. 644 *nec te Troia capit* and Juvenal 10.148 *hic* (*Hannibal*) *est quem non capit Africa*.

364 **te quoque dignum**: lines ending with two disyllabic words are not so frequent in the *Aeneid* as in Lucretius and Virgil's earlier work (see Conway on *A*. 1.719). If both words kept their full word-accent, the ictus would clash with accent in the fifth foot, against the whole tendency of the Virgilian hexameter; but the usual rhythm is not disturbed when the first disyllable is virtually enclitic and loses its own accent, as with *quoque* here, *tamen* 566, and probably *procul* 666.

364 f. 'Have the courage, my friend, to scorn wealth; you too (like Hercules) must model yourself in a way worthy of a god, and come with no harshness towards our poverty.'

Hercules, when alive, had shown a godlike humility towards his host's humble circumstances (like, for example, Jupiter and Mercury on their visit to Philemon and Baucis, Ovid *Met*. 8.637 ff.), and at his death had become a god: the lesson for Aeneas is clear.

But *deo* has caused difficulty:

(1) An ancient view, according to Servius *auctus*, took it = *immortalitate*; this is implied by the phrase, but not expressed.

(2) Page takes it to refer to Hercules, but 'make yourself worthy of Hercules *quoque*, as Hercules did' is hardly possible.

(3) Henry takes the meaning to be 'worthy of the god from whom you, no less than Alcides, are derived' (viz. Jupiter); but *deus* unqualified and unhelped by the context cannot have such a narrow and precise reference.

(4) The emendations of Deuticke (*decus* for *deo*) and Cauer (*dignam finge domum*) make lucid sense and are what anyone but Virgil would have written. *te quoque dignum / finge deo* is guaranteed by Seneca's citation of it (twice: *Epp*. 18.12, 31.11) and by the remark which follows it in *Epp*. 18.12: *nemo alius est deo dignus quam qui opes contempsit*. For the idea of 'making oneself like a god' in Greek philosophy (the Stoics and Cynics had Hercules in mind), see C. Koch, *Religio* (Nürnberg, 1960), 216 f. *deo dignus* may be an attempt to render θεοπρεπής.

367 f. Evander placed Aeneas where he was supported (*effultum* is proleptic, see the note on 37) on a bed of strewn leaves with a bearskin thrown over them.

368 **pelle Libystidis ursae** occurs also at *A*. 5.37 where it is part of Acestes' dress; Virgil, like Milton after him, uses proper names for the sake of their associations—*Libystidis* suggests something remote, exotic and valuable.

369 The writer of a narrative poem which covers any length of time is continually faced with the problem of how to effect the transition from the time of going to sleep, when normal activity ceases, to the time of getting up, when it recommences. To say simply 'The sun set. They went to sleep. Dawn appeared' is suitable to recital epic (Homer says this, with only slight elaboration, at *Il.* 1.475-7). For literary epic there were two ways out of the difficulty:

(1) To keep the abrupt formula of transition but to vary its expression. Ennius *Ann.* 89 f. V may have been alive to this possibility, and great ingenuity was expended by later poets in ringing all the possible changes of phrase. For Virgil's own variations, cf., for example, *A*. 2.250, 5.721, 11.201 f.

(2) To bridge the night with action, in which either mortal contact is made with the supernatural (in dreams and visions), or immortals are engaged among themselves. The first night of *Aeneid* 8 was taken up with Aeneas' vision of the Tiber-god (31 ff.); the second here is bridged with the activity of Venus and Vulcan. The progress of this particular night is carefully advanced (280-369-407-455) and suggests that the plan of the book was more elaborately prearranged than that of some others. Sometimes, as at *A*. 11.1 and 182 f., Virgil simply omits any mention of dusk or night, and marks the passage of time only with a rather perfunctory allusion to dawn.

370-393 *Venus, alarmed at the situation in Latium, tries to persuade Vulcan to make arms for Aeneas. Her embrace works on him like lightning.*

370 ff. In terms of the Homeric substructure of the poem the night spent here by Aeneas after the first day with Evander corresponds with the night spent by Telemachus after the first day with Nestor (*Od.* 3.397 ff.) (see note on 97 ff.), and to some extent also with the night spent by Odysseus after the first day with Eumaeus (*Od.* 14.520 ff.) (see the note on 183 f.). With these Odyssean nights Virgil synchronises the Iliadic night during which Thetis visits Hephaestus and he makes the arms for Achilles (*Il.* 18.369 ff.). But apart from the broad situation, the encounter of Venus and Vulcan owes little of significance to that of Thetis and Hephaestus. In fact a crucial difference between the two episodes, the fact that Hephaestus from a sense of obligation is willing to do whatever Thetis asks even before she has asked anything, whereas Venus makes her request first and gets her way through her more-than-wifely charms (387 ff.), suggests that Virgil took more than a hint from the more-than-wifely blandishments Hera uses to cajole Zeus in *Il.* 14.153 ff. (Hera prepares for the

encounter with a loan of sex-appeal from Aphrodite (*Il.* 14.214 ff.), which of course as Venus (here) she possesses in her own right).

Servius *auctus* (on 383) is concerned to point out that although Aeneas was Venus' son, he was not Vulcan's. Vulcan may not care to have been reminded of the implications of the relationship. But heroic tact (and perhaps heroic feeling too) was not so fine on these matters: at *Il.* 14.315 ff. Zeus tells his wife how much more desirable he finds her than any of his past amours, whom he lists in detail.

372 **aurĕō**, cf. 553 *aurĕīs*: according to Norden (on *A.* 6.280) the Augustan poets were the first to use synizesis with purely Latin words, the first example being Horace *Sat.* 1.8.43 *cerĕā*; before, it is found only with Greek proper names, to make them manageable in Latin verse (see the note on 292 *Eurysthĕō*). But it was an easy extension from proper names ending in *-eus* to adjectives with the same termination (always adjectives of material in Virgil, *aureus, aereus, ferreus,* themselves modelled on Greek χρυσέοις (for χρυσοῖς, etc.), and then to nouns in *-eus* (*alvĕō, A.* 6.412; *baltĕī, A.* 10.496). Other examples of synizesis in Virgil are *dĕinde* (*A.* 8.66 and 481), *antĕīrent* (*A.* 12.84), *ĕōdemque* (*A.* 12.847): all cases of short *ĕ* followed by a long vowel.

373 '...and into the words she breathes divine allurement'. *dictis,* dative; cf. *A.* 5.607 *ventosque a(d)spirat eunti.*

374 ff. *Venus' speech.* The Servian commentary, which includes scholia dealing with Virgil as an exponent of rhetorical principles, makes it clear that this speech is almost a text-book model of a *suasoria* (a rather more elementary exercise in *declamatio* than a *controversia*).

374-80 This period, whose main sentence (376-8) is encased by two subordinate clauses (374 f., 379 f.), extends over seven lines. Cicero (*Or.* 222) laid it down that the optimum normal length of a period in *prose* was the equivalent of four hexameter verses. By far the largest part of Virgil's poetry consists of units of four or less hexameters. Periods longer than this in *Aeneid* 8 group themselves into four well-defined categories:

(1) The *exordia* of formal, dignified speeches are rhetorically elaborated in the same way as the openings of prose *orationes*: 127-33 (Aeneas' ambassadorial overtures), 185-9 (Evander launching the Cacus-narration), 314-8 (Evander's excursus on Roman prehistory), 374-80 here (Venus begins her carefully prepared *suasoria*), 470-4 (Evander begins his royal reply to the request for help), 560 ff. (the prelude to Evander's prayer). Apart from instances in the Cacus narration (which although spoken by Evander is not as a whole comparable with a speech), the only example in a speech outside the *exordium* is the famous passage where Vulcan's emotion carries him away (400-4).

(2) The ἔκφρασις τόπου at 416-22 is elaborated into a topographical excursus (see the note on 597); the ἐκφράσεις χρόνου at 26-30 and 407-15 are extended: the first is woven back into the narrative, the second issues in a very complex concentration of ideas (see the note there).

(3) All five *similes* in the book (21 ff., 243 ff., 391 ff., 589 ff., 622 f.), appended to what they illustrate, build up longer units than usual.

(4) In the two long *narrative* passages of the book the four-line unit length is not exceeded more often than one might expect to be necessary to produce *variety* of presentation: 193-7, 225-30, 251-5 (the Cacus-narration), 630-4, 666-70, 709-13 (the Shield); the rare sporadic examples elsewhere are no doubt due to the same cause (31-5, 337-41); the special case of the opening paragraph of the book is discussed in the note on 1-6. The period at 288-93 (*ut prima*...*pertulerit*) is an indirect presentation of the *seriatim* manner of prayers and hymns (cf. the direct presentation which follows at 293 ff., and *G.* 1.5 ff.).

374 ff. **dum...vastabant...non...rogavi**: the rule of classical prose, that a clause introduced by *dum*, which describes an action or state *during* the course of which something else did or did not happen, has an atemporal present indicative verb, broke down through the almost inevitable confusion with the constructions of *cum*. The imperfect indicative appears in Sallust, and in Livy, e.g. 10.36.16, dum *haec in Apulia* gerebantur, *altero exercitu Samnites Interamnam*...*occupare conati urbem non tenuerunt*. See *KS* 2, 374 f.

375 **debita**: Servius' explanation *fataliter ad exitium destinata* is undoubtedly correct, but this cannot be the meaning of *debita* alone. Usually there is a dative in the vicinity making it clear to whom or what something or somebody is owed (e.g. *A.* 3.184, 7.120, 11.759); there is however an almost absolute use of the participle = 'destined' at *A.* 9.107 f. *tempora Parcae / debita complerant*, where to be rigorously explicit one would need to say *debita compleri*: so here, the sense of *debita* is defined by *vastari* (or *vastationi*) implicit in *vastabant*.

In any case there can be no doubt about the meaning for *casuras inimicis ignibus arces* is the explicit variation on the theme *Pergama*... / *debita* (*Pergama* = 'the citadel of Troy'; *arces* is poetic plural). For *debita* used absolutely = *fataliter debita* in post-Virgilian poetry, see Heuvel on Statius *Th.* 1.80.

378 **labores...laborem** (380): note the repetition without significance.

378 H. W. Garrod, *CR* 33 (1919), 105, ingeniously proposed *vetitos* for *-ve tuos*, which supports the sense of *vetabant* 398, and gives the unexceptionable construction *nec volui te exercere labores*. But *volui exercere te* = 'I wanted to make you work', is not questionable Latin, as Garrod thought; cf. Terence *Ad.* 587 *i sane: ego te exercebo hodie, ut dignus es.*

379 **natis**: an evasive plural; her 'debt' was to one only of Priam's sons, Paris, who had awarded her the prize for beauty in the contest with Juno and Minerva—an incident best veiled in view of its consequences. Compare *natos* at *A.* 2.579 and 138 which seems to allude respectively to Helen's single child and Sinon's non-existent children, both passages where emotion is allowed, intentionally or otherwise, to get the better of arithmetic.

382 f. 'and so it is I (who asked for nothing before) who come as a suppliant and ask your divine pleasure, which I hold sacred, for arms, a mother (begging) for her son'. *numen* and *arma* are both objects of *rogo*.

382 f. **ergo eadem supplex venio et...arma rogo...nato** recalls *Il.* 18.457-60 (Thetis to Hephaestus) *τοὔνεκα νῦν τὰ σὰ γούναθ' ἱκάνομαι, αἴ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα / υἱ' ἐμῷ ὠκυμόρῳ δόμεν ἀσπίδα καὶ τρυφάλειαν / καὶ καλὰς κνημῖδας, ἐπισφυρίοις ἀραρυίας, / καὶ θώρηχ'.*

382 **sanctum mihi numen**: a rhythmical rarity; usually two disyllables ending a verse are preceded by an emphatic monosyllable (cf. *tunc tamen omnis* 566). Norden 447 f. lists 13 instances in the *Aeneid* of a preceding word of two or more syllables; there is a remarkable concentration in books 10 and 11 (was Virgil experimenting with a harsher rhythm in the books mainly concerned with fighting?). Here the harshness is mitigated by the fact that *mihi* is virtually enclitic (as also at *A.* 10.442 and 849). In 'I ask arms of a godhead sacred in my eyes' Venus assumes the tone of a human suppliant praying to a specially reverenced god. Ribbeck's (*sanctum mihi nomen*) ('a holy name to me') makes very poor sense: it is difficult to see why any of the nouns in the sentence should be holy to Venus, or if any were, what the point could be in stressing *her* feeling. Schrader's *sanctum tibi nomen* makes sense: Venus could well say that the word 'suppliant' or 'mother' was, or ought to be, respected by Vulcan; but there is no justification for any change, since *sanctum mihi numen* is supported, against the variant *nomen* and the conjectures based on it, by *A.* 1.666 *ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco* (also Venus—to Cupid).

383 **arma rogo, genetrix nato**: in Macrobius 1.24.6 f., Evangelus, the detractor of Virgil, says that he ordered the *Aeneid* to be burnt at his death, because he was afraid of the criticism of posterity—against the situation here, where Venus asks the only god she had ever lawfully married to make arms for a son of hers, but not of his. The Servian commentary tries to meet the objection by punctuating heavily after *rogo* and taking *genetrix nato* with what follows, but so long as these two words stand together, as they must, they inevitably make one think of Venus' own situation. But Evangelus' criticism is misdirected: Virgil does not try to make his gods patterns of human behaviour, and here he is more concerned with the rhetorical effectiveness of quoting precedents and *exempla*.

383 f. The 'daughter of Nereus' was Thetis, mother of Achilles; her words to Hephaestus (*Il.* 18.457 ff. quoted above) suggested the preceding sentence. The 'wife of Tithonus' was the Dawn-goddess (Eos, Aurora), the mother of Memnon, king of Ethiopia. He went to Troy to fight for his uncle Priam, killed Antilochus son of Nestor, and was himself killed by Achilles, after which Zeus made him immortal. The legend is alluded to in *Od.* 4.187 f. and 11.522, and was treated at length in the epic poem *Aethiopis* by Arctinus of Miletus (8th century B.C.), one of the lost poems of the Trojan cycle. Memnon's armour seems to have been almost as celebrated as that of Achilles: Dido asks Aeneas to describe it (*A.* 1.751), no doubt to supplement the picture her own craftsmen had made of it on the portico-frieze of the temple of Juno (*A.* 1.489). There was almost certainly a description of Memnon's arms, or at least his shield, in the

Aethiopis; and there are other features of the *Aeneid* which suggest that Virgil had direct acquaintance with the content of that poem, probably through a mythographer's résumé, possibly with the actual text: the major rôle given to Camilla in *A*. 7 and 11 seems to reflect the predominance of Penthesilea, and Lausus dying to save Mezentius against Aeneas seems to repeat the situation of Antilochus saving Nestor from Memnon: see E. Fraenkel, *Philologus* 87 (1932), 242 ff. = *Kl. Beiträge* II (1964), 173 ff.

383 **Nerēī**: for the scansion as a disyllable see the note on 292 *Eurystheō*. Servius here read *Neri* and assumed that the nominative was *Neres* (like *Achilli*, genitive of *Achilles*, see Conway on *A*. 1.30), but this form seems to be unattested, and names in *-eus* form either a Greek genitive in *-eos*, or a Latin one either in *-ei* or, when the synizesis is represented as a *complete* fusion of vowels, in *-i*. See further Leumann 124.

385 f. **moenia...acuant**: two removes from prosaic expression, 'city walls' for 'cities' for 'citizens'; cf. *A*. 7.629 f. *urbes / tela novant*.

387 f. The situation here and in 388-90 may owe something respectively to *Il*. 14.346 *ἦ ῥα καὶ ἀγκὰς ἔμαρπτε Κρόνου παῖς ἣν παράκοιτιν* (where however Zeus takes the initiative), and *Il*. 14.294 f. *ὡς δ' ἴδεν, ὥς μιν ἔρως πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν, / οἷον ὅτε πρῶτόν περ ἐμισγέσθην φιλότητι* (where Zeus is the subject). The phraseology too may overlie Homeric terms: *niveis...lacertis* recalls *λευκώλενος*, the almost 'constant' epithet of Hera, and *laeta dolis* (393) was perhaps suggested by *δολοφρονέουσα* (*Il*. 14.329). Lines 405-6 which close the episode similarly recall *Il*. 14.352 f.: *ὣς ὁ μὲν ἀτρέμας εὗδε πατὴρ ἀνὰ Γαργάρῳ ἄκρῳ, / ὕπνῳ καὶ φιλότητι δαμείς, ἔχε δ' ἀγκὰς ἄκοιτιν.*

387 f. **dixerat... / ...fovet**: for the tenses see the note on 219 f. and compare the note on 152.

388 The emphatic balance *cunctantem...repente* points a line whose rhythm so aptly reflects its sense: heterodyned spondees for his reluctance and the fondling embrace which gradually overcomes it, then his electrified response in a rapid dactylic unit. The bucolic diaeresis (and pause) (see the note on 24) does not of itself contribute to the effect: it is there simply to admit the dactylic unit in the last two feet, cf. *inde repente* 238.

389 **solitam...notus**: 'familiar' and 'well-known', and so intimate and pleasurable; contrast *novus* which often means 'new and distasteful'.

solitám flammám: the homoeoteleuton here is remarkable: it ornaments and stresses the two words; see further the note on 15.

389 f. **medullas / ...labefacta per ossa**: the Roman view of the sexual excitability of the cerebro-spinal marrow considered as the source of procreative power is discussed by R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought*[2] 151.

390 **labefacta**, 'through his shattered bones' suits the intensity of the feeling; cf. Lucretius 4.1113 f. *usque adeo cupide in Veneris compagibus haerent, / membra voluptatis dum vi labefacta liquescunt.*

390 **intravit calor**: a pause at the end of the second foot is not common: it entails a diaeresis, which, emphasised by the sense pause,

produces a jolty effect and disturbs the rhythmic flow of the verse. At *A.* 1.115 f. *in puppim ferit: excutitur pronusque magister / volvitur in caput, ast illam ter fluctus ibidem...* the rhythm is used intentionally to convey sudden and violent disturbance; the same effect to a lesser degree is achieved here and at 525 *cum sonitu venit* (in both places there is a slight pause). In Virgil this pause is always preceded by a pyrrhic word (of two short syllables), but is not always descriptive; it would be perverse to read disturbance into 287, 357, 487, 538.

Note also that the division between words (diaeresis) at the end of the second foot is accompanied by a caesura within that foot: this is an almost invariable rule in Virgil (see Raven 96 f.), whose cause is a desire for clash of ictus and accent in the second foot.

391 **olim**: 'generally, from time to time', an archaic sense it often has in Virgil; see Page's note on *A.* 1.289 and R. D. Williams on *A.* 5.125. Like *quondam* it came generally to refer to past time because that was the most needed concept in its range.

391 f. **corusco** should be taken with *lumine*, 'with flashing light' rather than with *tonitru* because (1) *lumine* is far more limp without an adjective than *tonitru*; (2) Virgil may well have had in mind Lucretius 6.281 ff. *inde ubi percaluit venti vis et gravis ignis / impetus incessit, maturum tum quasi fulmen / perscindit subito nubem, ferturque* coruscis */ omnia* luminibus *lustrans loca percitus ardor*; (3) Page is wrong in saying that the rhythm of the line forbids the adjective to be separated from *tonitru*, for although the interlacing word-order is intricate (see Appendix, p. 199), the wide separation of *lumine* and *corusco* can be easily paralleled, by, for example, 405 f. *placidumque...soporem* and *G.* 1.331 ff. *ille* flagranti / *aut Atho(n) aut Rhodopen aut alta Ceraunia* telo / *deicit*; (4) like αἰόλος and *micans* 392, *coruscus* ranges in meaning from 'vibrating' or 'trembling', in terms of motion, to 'glittering' or 'shining' (cf. Servius on *A.* 2.172: *coruscum alias fulgens, alias tremulum est*): either or both will suit 'light', neither will suit 'thunderclap'.

In 391 note the contribution of *t* and *r* to the sound-painting of the lightning-burst: cf. *A.* 5.693 ff. (a violent cloudburst); see R. Maxa, *WS* 19 (1897), 78 ff. for a reasonable attempt to classify individual letters by descriptive effect.

393 The rhythm of the line indicates a paragraph closure and a long pause after it is called for in recitation: there is coincidence of ictus and accent in every foot except the third, the first and fourth feet are self-contained spondees, and the line ends with the sound-echo *cónscia cóniunx.*

394-406 *The enraptured Vulcan promises all the resources of his craft to meet her request, and returns his wife's embrace.*

394 **pater**: a certain example of the word's use as a status-title, with no implication of parenthood (see the note on 72).

394 This line is one echo, 633 may be another, of Lucretius' description of Mars in Venus' embrace (1.33 ff.) ...*in gremium qui saepe tuum se /*

reicit aeterno devictus vulnere amoris, / atque ita suspiciens tereti cervice reposta / pascit amore avidos inhians in te, dea, visus. devinctus amore here, 'enslaved by love' eliminates the military overtones, appropriate to Mars, of *devictus* (an ill-supported variant here) *vulnere.*

395 **ex alto**: 'from the distant past', but with the overtones of the idiomatic *alte* (or *ex alto*) *repetita*, 'far-fetched, out-of-the-way' (examples in *TLL* 1,1783 *s.v.*).

396 f. As Mackail remarks (*Aeneid*, Intro. 80) there is no obvious reason for the identical word-ending *fuisset* in the two consecutive verses: other examples, including those with stylistic point, are comparatively rare (*E.* 10.53 f.; *G.* 1.407 f., 4.341 f.; *A.* 7.653 f., 9.544 f., 11.204 f.); and for a noun repeated in a different case (or number) as at *A.* 8.330 f. *Thybris-Thybrim*, cf. *E.* 2.63 f., 10.75 f.; *A.* 1.349 f., 5.569 f., 7.553 f., 12.617 f. There is no example of such a repetition in the most finished books of the *Aeneid* (2, 4, 6), but it does not necessarily follow that Virgil would have removed such apparently pointlessly repeated words at the end of a line in a final revision, since he admits other end-rhymes and also allows the repetition of a word at close intervals with no significant point. See further R. G. Austin, *CQ* 23 (1929), 46 ff. Heinsius' *subisset* for *fuisset* 396 is therefore not compelling, though very apt.

398 f. The 'almighty father' and the 'fates' are different aspects of the same thing, as usual in Virgil: the will of the world-god *is* the world's destiny. This however can be delayed, at least in epic: Juno decides on delaying tactics at *A.* 7.313 ff.; but it cannot be altered (so there is no inconsistency with *debita A.* 8.375). This rather curious view, which is to some extent already implicit in Homer, may have been made into theological doctrine by the Etruscans (Servius here refers to *aruspicinae libros*). Lucan also expresses the view that fate can be delayed (3.392, 7.88, 7.295) or accelerated (5.41, 7.51 f.), a position adopted by the Stoics to try and deal with the problem of free will.

400 **mens est**: a monosyllable ending the verse, preceded by *another* monosyllable, or disyllable with elision (71 *unde est*), recalls the practice and prosaic phraseology of Ennius and Lucretius (3.647 *mens est*). Virgil uses it occasionally, reacting against the studied avoidance of it by the neoterics (there is no example in Catullus 64).

401 ff. 'Whatever care I can promise in my craft...what can be made from molten iron or silver-gold...all the force of furnace and bellows' blast...do not doubt your powers any longer by making requests.'

quidquid...quod...quantum are grammatically three parallel clauses (although *quod* might be relative to the antecedent *quidquid*), in breathless asyndeton, each one the subject or object of a verb which should follow them, but does not, because Vulcan is carried away by his emotion and substitutes a quite different main clause. As Henry puts it, '...in the midst of his protestation, and just as he was going to say "All this and more I promise you" or "All this and more I swear to you" he stops short, breaks off, and laying down the armourer and husband, and assuming the lover and bridegroom, throws his arms round her waist and simpers:

"Demand no more as a favour what you have the right and the power to command."'

The anacoluthon is not of an unusually abrupt kind: no difficulty is raised about the comparable construction at *A.* 11.288 ff. *quidquid apud durae cessatum est moenia Troiae, / Hectoris Aeneaeque manu victoria Graium / haesit et in decimum vestigia rettulit annum*, where the *quidquid*-clause stands in the same syntactically semi-detached relation to the main clause as is often the case with the familiar Lucretian *quod superest.*

Attempts have been made to regulate the grammar and smooth out the anacoluthon by suggesting that we must understand *promitto* as governing *quidquid*, or *id* (in apposition with *quidquid*, etc.) as the object of *precando*. These attempts are misguided and based on the assumption that if a self-conscious stylist using highly ordered language could not admit anacoluthon unwittingly, he could not do so deliberately either. But Cicero in his philosophical dialogues does precisely this (see *KS* 2, 584 f.). Virgil must be assumed to know what he is doing here, even though characterisation by style (as in Neptune's almost incoherent indignation at *A.* 1.132 ff. and his almost incoherent rambling at *A.* 5.804 ff.) is not one of his main features. (Homer, who is given to it much more, has also been a victim of misguided grammarians: at *Od.* 2.45 f. *ἀλλ' ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ χρεῖος, ὅ μοι κακὸν ἔμπεσεν οἴκῳ / δοιά*, Aristophanes of Byzantium 'corrected' *κακὸν* to *κακά*, which regularises the syntax—and reduces Homer's portrayal of Telemachus' growing indignation to passionless arithmetic.)

402 A *versus spondeiazon*: see the note on 54 *Pallanteum*. Four-syllable words are commoner at the end of such lines than three-syllable in Homer, Alexandrian poetry, Catullus 64 and Virgil—probably a question of availability rather than rhythm.

electrum: some silver occurs naturally in gold ore; when the proportion was one part silver to four gold, the mixture was called *electrum* (Pliny *N.H.* 33.(23).80 f.). The same mixture could be made artificially, in this or slightly different proportions, producing a range of colours (evident in coins).

403 **animae**: 'the breath' (of the bellows) = *auras* 449.

404 **indubitare**: '*sane* indubitare *quis ante hunc?*' Servius *auctus*. No earlier instance is known to *TLL s.v.* It is a new coinage of Virgil's and a surprising one: *in-* is not the usual negative prefix, and the simple verb *dubitare* is not used with the dative in the sense of *diffidere*, which is what the compound means here. Perhaps the splendid sweep of 400 ff. made Virgil bolder than usual. The word occurs only once again: Statius *Silvae* 3.5.109 f. *sed ingratus qui plura adnecto tuisque / moribus indubito.*

405 **dedit amplexus**: = *amplexus est*; periphrases of this type with *dare* are common in poetry from Ennius (e.g. *sonitum...arma dederunt Ann.* 415 V) onwards (see *TLL* 5, 1687 *s.v. do*).

optatos: 'that *he* longed for'.

405 f. Virgil's allusion to the act of sexual intercourse produced interesting reactions from ancient critics (cited by Servius here and Aulus Gellius *N.A.* 9.10). M. Valerius Probus, who flourished in the second half

of the first century A.D., took exception to the impropriety of *infusus gremio* and bowdlerised to *infusum* (with *soporem*), which produced poor sense—*dormiit cum coniuge dormiente,* and worse style—a second adjective with *soporem,* but quickly infiltrated into the MS tradition. Annaeus Cornutus, the Stoic teacher of Persius and Lucan, approved the technique of the passage but objected to the word *membra*—because of a possible double-meaning. It is noteworthy that on a question of *ethos* Probus, unquestionably in the front rank of ancient critics of Virgil, shows himself to no better advantage than the generally obtuse Cornutus (see Nettleship's introduction to Conington's edition, pp. 61 f. and 65). By the time of Hadrian fashions had changed: Annianus and other neoteric poets enthused about the pure delicacy of the treatment.

petivit...per membra (sua) soporem: a further variation on the phrase already varied at 30 *dedit per membra quietem.*

407-423 *Vulcan rises energetically in the early hours of the morning and descends from heaven to his smithy on the island Vulcano.*

407-15 'Then when the first rest had driven out sleep in the mid-course of the now receding night, at the time when a woman, whose burden it is to support life by the distaff and the slender help of Minerva, first stirs the ashes and slumbering embers adding night-time to her task, and works her servants with a long stint by lamplight, so as to be able to keep her husband's bed chaste and bring up her small sons: in the same way and no less energetically than she at that time, the lord of fire rises from his soft blankets to do the tasks of his craft.'

407 **ubi prima quies**: *prima* here is best taken as attributive, 'the first rest', cf. *A.* 2.268 f. *tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris / incipit*; but in view of Virgil's constant practice, it is impossible to exclude the possibility that the predicative (adverbial) sense was also present in his mind, cf. *cum...primum* in the next line. The 'first rest', in the early hours of the morning, *follows* the first sleep; this is clear from *A.* 2.268 f. above, which follows some time after 253 *sopor fessos complectitur artus.*

407 f. **medio iam noctis abactae / curriculo**: 'in the mid-course of the now receding night', i.e. night has just passed its 'zenith' and the third of the four watches has just begun; *medio curriculo* is a locative ablative of 'time when', and the participle virtually has a present (passive) sense: see the note on 636 *magnis circensibus actis.* Cf. Ovid *Met.* 10.174 f. *iamque fere medius Titan* venientis et actae / noctis *erat, spatioque pari distabat utrimque.*

407 ff. **ubi... / ...expulerat...cum...primum / ...suscitat**: after *ubi* and *cum primum* (= *simulac,* 'as soon as'), as after *postquam* and *ut,* the narrative style of classical prose is content to use an aorist-perfect to describe an action prior to that of the main verb, and to leave the priority to be inferred from the context. English insists on making the sequence clear by using the pluperfect. This Latin tense and also the

historic present occur in Sallust and later historians, and not infrequently in poetry. See Woodcock 172 ff. for a careful analysis of uses and exceptions.

The present indicative after *cum primum* sometimes has a generalising force, cf., for example, *G.* 1.112 f. *luxuriem segetum tenera depascit in herba, / cum primum sulcos aequant sata,* where it means 'as soon as' with strong undertones of 'whenever' (it is impossible in English to convey both notions without resorting to a cumbersome paraphrase). This generalising sense is also present in this passage. Translate: '...at the time when a woman...first stirs the ashes...'.

408 f. Periphrases for times of day and night are very common in epic poetry (see the note on 97). Sometimes (as here) time is defined with reference to a predictably regular social activity, cf. *Od.* 12.439 f. *ἦμος δ' ἐπὶ δόρπον ἀνὴρ ἀγορῆθεν ἀνέστη / κρίνων νείκεα πολλὰ δικαζομένων αἰζηῶν, / τῆμος δὴ τά γε δοῦρα Χαρύβδιος ἐξεφαάνθη*: these are comparatively elaborate examples of what could be expressed by a simple adverbial phrase, e.g. *βουλυτόνδε* 'at the time of loosing the oxen', *Il.* 16.779; *Od.* 9.58.

408 ff. This simile weaves together strands from three earlier epic similes.

(1) Homer *Il.* 12.433 ff. had likened the deadlock in the fighting to the equally balanced scales when wool is being weighed: *ἀλλ' ἔχον* ('they held on'), *ὥς τε τάλαντα γυνὴ χερνῆτις ἀληθής, / ἥ τε σταθμὸν ἔχουσα καὶ εἴριον ἀμφὶς ἀνέλκει / ἰσάζουσ', ἵνα παισὶν ἀεικέα μισθὸν ἄρηται· / ὣς μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ ἶσα μάχη τέτατο πτόλεμός τε.*

Notice that in this, as in many other similes in Homer, there is only *one* point of comparison between the illustration and the situation being illustrated, and it is not this point which has most artistic elaboration lavished on it (a good example of this is *Il.* 4.422 ff. where the Greek army advancing *silently* in successive ranks is compared with a succession of waves *thundering* on the shore). Homeric practice must have influenced Virgil considerably, and this should be borne in mind when evaluating the 'appropriateness' of Virgil's similes on the basis of the number of points of comparison. See further David West, 'Multiple-Correspondence Similes in the Aeneid', *JRS* 59 (1969), 40 ff.

Apollonius of Rhodes has two similes describing the activities of a spinning-woman, both illustrating Medea's emotional state.

(2) *Arg.* 3.291 ff. Medea's heart is aflame with love: *ὡς δὲ γυνὴ μαλερῷ περὶ κάρφεα χεύατο δαλῷ / χερνῆτις, τῇπερ ταλασήια ἔργα μέμηλεν, / ὥς κεν ὑπωρόφιον νύκτωρ σέλας ἐντύναιτο, / ἄγχι μάλ' ἐγρομένη· τὸ δ' ἀθέσφατον ἐξ ὀλίγοιο / δαλοῦ ἀνεγρόμενον σὺν κάρφεα πάντ' ἀμαθύνει· / τοῖος ὑπὸ κραδίῃ εἰλυμένος αἴθετο λάθρῃ / οὖλος Ἔρως.*

(3) *Arg.* 4.1062 ff. night has put all the earth to sleep, but Medea weeps in agony: *οἷον ὅτε κλωστῆρα γυνὴ ταλαεργὸς ἑλίσσει / ἐννυχίη· τῇ δ' ἀμφὶ κινύρεται ὀρφανὰ τέκνα / χηροσύνῃ πόσιος· σταλάει δ' ὑπὸ δάκρυ παρειὰς / μνωομένης, οἵη μιν ἐπὶ σμυγερὴ λάβεν αἶσα· / ὣς τῆς ἰκμαίνοντο παρηίδες· ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ / ὀξείῃς εἰλεῖτο πεπαρμένον ἀμφ' ὀδύνῃσιν.*

Virgil's simile obviously owes most to (3), although the motif of children is already in Homer, and that of fire-kindling may possibly have been

suggested by (2), although the phraseology *cinerem et sopitos suscitat ignis* is an exact repetition of *A*. 5.743. It looks as if Virgil, about to describe supernatural activity at night, was led to think of the favourite *locus communis* on human restlessness, and so remembered (3). If this is so, he has treated it in the same ways as the earlier simile based on Apollonius (see the note on 22 ff.): he has dignified the status of the γυνὴ ταλαεργός by providing her with maidservants (and making her virtually a Roman *matrona*), and declined to be any more explicit than his source about the cause of her solitary state. Virgil's language is closely imitated by Valerius Flaccus 2.136 ff. in his description of Eurynome, whose husband is away on active service; Virgil may well have had the same situation in mind (Henry insists that he did).

There is a more important debt too which Virgil owes to Apollonius (and his Hellenistic contemporaries). The plight of nameless commoners rarely roused feelings of pathos or sympathy in the author(s) of the Homeric poems (a notable exception is *Od.* 20.109 ff., the woman who is still at her job of grinding corn when dawn breaks because her health had been ruined by the heavy demands of the suitors). The description of ordinary people with realism and humanity was a development fostered by Hellenistic writers and no doubt contributed to Virgil's own deeper and more comprehensive *humanitas*.

409 **tolerare...vitam**: 'to support life', cf. Lucr. 2.1171 *tolerarit... aevum*.

tenuique Minerva: *Minerva* = *lanificium* here, a common metonymy (see the note on 181). In Roman religion Minerva was the patroness of handicrafts and of manual workers (including doctors and school-teachers); Virgil associates her particularly with the feminine activity of spinning (cf. *A*. 5.284, 7.805 f.).

tenui is ambiguous, meaning either 'finely spun' or 'meagre'. Servius favours the latter, *parvo pretio lanificii*, which fits well with the ἀεικέα μισθὸν of *Il.* 12.435 which Virgil may have had in mind here (see the note on 408 ff.). Both meanings may be present, as at *A*. 1.1 a *gracili modulatus avena*, where *gracili* means both 'slender' and 'unambitious'.

410 **impositum**: some Roman readers, confronted with an unpunctuated text, not surprisingly took *impositum* to agree with *cinerem*: the ashes were put over the embers to keep them burning low, cf. Horace *Odes* 2.1.7 f. *incedis per ignes / suppositos cineri doloso*. This, according to Servius, led them to punctuate at the end of 409 and in that line to 'understand' *mos est* or *placet*. Bentley, realising the difficulty of any such 'understanding', decided to mutilate the text at 408 f. (*femina, cui mos / est tolerare*) to make the same interpretation explicit. But the commonly accepted interpretation makes good sense without raising any serious difficulty: the omission of *est* in the subordinate *cui*-clause is easily paralleled (see the note on 52), and that *impositum* should be detached in sense from what follows is strongly suggested by *A*. 5.743 *haec memorans cinerem et sopitos suscitat ignis*.

411 f. Spinning as a morally commendable feminine activity had no

necessary connection with social status: it is done both by the noble Lucretia (Ovid *Fasti* 2.741 ff.) and by the slave-girl who says on her epitaph *gravitatem officio et lanificio praestiti* (Bücheler, *Carmina Epigraphica* 63.4).

414 **nec segnior** (*illā* understood, comparison) *illo tempore* (time).

416 ff. **insula...erigitur**... 423 **hoc**: for the elaborated opening and development of this ἔκφρασις τόπου see the note on 597 *est ingens...lucus*. It follows almost immediately after an ἔκφρασις χρόνου, for the basic point of the simile in 408 ff. is to elaborate the *time* of Vulcan's rising (414 *nec tempore segnior illo*). In fact from an austere and prosaic point of view the whole verse paragraph 407-23 contains only two short sentences which forward the main narrative (414 f., 423), each at the end of a long poetic footnote.

416 **Aeoliamque**: polysyllabic Greek proper names at the end of the verse and not involving a spondaic fifth foot are common (see Norden 438).

416 f. Lipari is the largest and most important of the group of seven islands off the north-east coast of Sicily, the Αἰόλου νῆσοι (Thuc. 3.88), *insulae Aeoliae*, the domain of Aeolus god of the winds. The only island between it and the Sicilian coast (*Sicanium...latus*) is Ἱερὰ Ἡφαίστου, *Volcania...tellus* (422), the modern Vulcano. The volcano, rising straight out of the sea (*erigitur* 417), still smokes, but feebly and undramatically compared with Strongyle (Stromboli), and not enough to discourage growing tourist traffic to its black sands and sulphur springs. The author of the *Aetna* (about the middle of the first century A.D.) says that the island could safely harbour ships because volcanic activity had largely died away and would have become quite extinct but for a supply of combustible material from Etna itself *furtim*, underground (444 f.).

Of the two neighbouring islands, Valerius Flaccus 1.579 ff. repeats the traditional allocation of Volcania to Vulcan and Lipari to Aeolus. The suggestion that *Lipare* (nom.) should be read here, with *Aeoliam* referring to the Italian coast as conjectured at Lucretius 1.721, is misguided.

416 ff. In *G.* 4.170 ff. Virgil had located the smithies of the Cyclopes under Mount Etna in Sicily, and there is a vestige of this tradition in *antra Aetnaea* (419), and *Aetnaei Cyclopes* (440). Here he situates the smithies on the island Vulcano, no doubt following Hellenistic tradition (cf. Roscher *s.v. Hephaistos* col. 2070 ff.): Callimachus (*Hymn to Artemis* 46 ff.) chose Lipari itself for the site, and also seems to have been the first to have brought the Cyclopes quite clearly into connection with Hephaestus (cf. Roscher, *s.v. Kyklopen*, esp. cols. 1678 ff.). The colourful detail in Callimachus' description of their activities was no doubt in Virgil's mind when he wrote 424 ff.

Virgil's choice of Vulcano may have been prompted by recent volcanic activity there, although this was feeble and intermittent by the first half of the first century A.D. (cf. *Aetna* 440-2).

417 Vulcano which 'rises sheer' (*erigitur*) from the sea recalls the floating island of Aeolus in *Od.* 10.4: λισσὴ δ' ἀναδέδρομε πέτρη.

418 **exesa caminis**: Servius *auctus* asks *exesa ad usum caminorum... an caminis exesa pro ignibus exesa?* The second is more natural and preferable, 'eaten out by the forges'.

419 **antra Aetnaea**: 'caves like those of Etna', fiery with volcanic activity. But in spite of Heyne's denial (*ad loc.*), Virgil was probably also thinking of them as belonging to Etna in the sense that it was Etna which supplied them with volcanic material (cf. *Aetna* 445 ff.).

419 f. **validique incudibus ictus / auditi referunt gemitus**: 'and mighty blows on the anvils are heard and re-echo their groans'. The 'groans' are of course inanimate as at *A.* 2.53, 3.555, 9.709.

420 f. **striduntque cavernis / stricturae**: on *A.* 10.174 Servius quotes Varro as saying *nasci illic* (on the island of Elba) *ferrum, sed in stricturam non posse cogi nisi transvectum in Populoniam*, and from this it appears that *strictura* originally referred to the mould into which the molten metal flowed from the furnace; here it probably means the ingot or 'pig' itself. The red-hot ingots hiss (*stridunt*) as they are formed in the moulds.

421 The *Chalybes* were reputed to be a Scythian tribe beyond the river Thermodon which flows into the Black Sea (Pontus); cf. *G.* 1.58 f. *at Chalybes nudi ferrum, virosaque Pontus / castorea* (sc. *mittit*). They were credited with the discovery and first working of iron, *χάλυψ*. For this they are cursed in Callimachus *Aetia* frg. 110, 48 ff. (= Catullus *Coma Berenices* 48 ff.); Apollonius (2.1005 ff.) represents them as labouring unceasingly in black sooty smoke.

423 **hoc**, the older form of *huc* (cf. *illoc, istoc*) occurs only here in Virgil but is guaranteed by Servius *ad loc.*, and by the grammarian Priscian; the facilitation to *huc*, a variant here, has occurred also at, for example, Lucan 2.625. The occurrence of the two forms is a good illustration of the struggle between classical conformity and the persistence of older forms in colloquial speech: with verbs of motion Cicero uses only *huc* in his Letters, while many of his correspondents, including Caelius, use *hoc*; Caesar invariably uses *huc*, while his continuators, especially the author of the *Bellum Hispaniense*, admit or prefer *hoc*: see Wölfflin, *ALL* 7 (1892), 332.

424-438 *In the cavern the Cyclopes are busy forging a thunderbolt for Jupiter, a chariot for Mars and an aegis for Pallas.*

425 **Brontesque Steropesque**: Virgil is very fond of lengthening the *-e* in the first *-que* of a pair by placing after it a word beginning with two consonants (as here), a double consonant, or a single consonant capable of prolongation (*l, r, s*); the second *-que* is always either elided or scanned short. This is frank imitation of Homer's practice with *τε...τε*, e.g. at *Il.* 4.295 f. *ἀμφὶ μέγαν Πελάγοντα Ἀλάστορά τε̄ Χρομίον τε̆ / Αἵμονά τε̄ κρείοντα Βίαντά τε̆ ποιμένα λαῶν*. Hesiod *Theog.* 140 *Βρόντην τε̄ Στερόπην τε̆...* is the immediate source of the phrase here. As in Greek epic, the lengthened syllable is always the first in its foot (and therefore necessarily bears the

ictus). This is the only example of this licence in this book (for others see Page's note on *A*. 12.89). See also R. G. Austin on *A*. 4.146.

425 **nudus membra**: an accusative of respect of a noun with an adjective, as here, is an innovation of Augustan poetry modelled on a familiar Greek construction (compare Ovid *Met.* 9.307 *flava comas* with Homer *Od.* 15.133 κάρη ξανθὸς Μενέλαος). The noun almost always designates a part of the body. This 'Greek' accusative with *adjectives* (as opposed to participles) makes its first appearance in literary prose with Tacitus (e.g. *Germ.* 17.3 *feminae...nudae bracchia et lacertos*) no doubt as a result of Virgil's influence; but according to Quintilian (9.3.17) Virgilian clichés like *saucius pectus* were already a part of Roman journalese. See also the note on *qui genus* (114), and R. D. Williams on *A*. 5.97 and 135.

425 **Pyracmon**: Virgil's sensitivity to etymology is most evident with proper names, and this one was invented by him. Hesiod's trio of Cyclopes (*Theog.* 140) were Βρόντης ('Thunderer'), Στερόπης ('Lightner') and Ἄργης ('Flasher') and the same names occur in Callimachus *Hymn to Artemis* 68, 75. Just after the naming of the Cyclopes in Hesiod, there is explicit mention of the origin of that name itself (by an interpolator?), *Theog.* 144 f. Κύκλωπες δ' ὄνομ' ἦσαν ἐπώνυμον, οὕνεκ' ἄρα σφέων / κυκλοτερὴς ὀφθαλμὸς ἕεις ἐνέκειτο μετώπῳ. Homer had given invented significant names to his minor characters: cf., for example, *Od.* 8.111 ff. and especially 114 Ἀμφίαλός θ', υἱὸς Πολυνήου Τεκτονίδαο, 'Sea-girt, son of Many-Ship, son of Craftsman' (see Stanford, *Odyssey* I–XII, p. xxi); and Kretschmer (*Glotta* 28 (1939-40), 253) has suggested that Homer actually chose the form Ὀδυσσεύς in preference to Ὀλυσσεύς or Ὀλυττεύς because of the etymological connection he could devise with ὀδύσσεσθαι (evident in *Od.* 1.60 ff. Ὀδυσσεύς...ὠδύσαο and *Od.* 19.407 ff.); and see R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford, 1968), 4 f. So there was good Greek precedent for Virgil's coinage of the Greek Pyracmon (Πῦρ-ἄκμων, 'Fire-Anvil'), which was later taken up by Statius (*Theb.* 2.599) and Claudian (*De Rapt.* 1.240; *De Cons. Hon. III* 195). Similarly at *A*. 12.391 f. *Phoebo ante alios dilectus Iapyx / Iasides*, the physician Iapyx may owe his patronymic as much to Greek ἰᾶσθαι, 'to heal', as to any putative connection with Iasius (like Palinurus, *A*. 5.843). Compare Ovid *Met.* 3.206 ff. for dogs with appropriate Greek names, including *acutae vocis Hylactor* ('Barker'), and *Met.* 2.153 f. for the significant names of the horses of the Sun, *Pyrois, Eous, Aethon* and *Phlegon*.

Rather different and more frequent are cases where Virgil shows that he is conscious of the etymology of a foreign proper name: *A*. 12.539 f. *nec di texere Cupencum / Aenea veniente sui*, where Servius *ad loc.* tells us that *cupencus* was the Sabine word for 'priest'; *A*. 7.684 *Hernica saxa*, 'the Rocky rocks', for *hernae* was the Sabine equivalent of Latin *saxa* (Servius *ad loc.*). Often by a *jeu étymologique* Virgil recasts in Latin adjectives the meaning of a Greek name: *A*. 6.550 f. *quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis / Tartareus Phlegethon* (~ φλεγέθειν, 'to scorch'). See further R. D. Williams on *A*. 3.693 and 5.2 (and his very useful references there). Later epic also has examples: Lucan 1.214 *puniceus* (!) *Rubicon*; 6.369 f.

quique nec umentes nebulas nec rore madentem / aera nect enues ventos suspirat Anauros; Val. Fl. 6.100 f. *hiberni qui terga Novae gelidumque securi / eruit et tota non audit Alazona ripa.*

For the (again rather different) folk-etymology of Latin names see the note on 322 f. *Latium*; and for *Acmon* as a fragment of Pyracmon the note on 250 *molaribus.*

426 f. Virgil elaborates (with numerical precision 429 f.) his description of the forging of the thunderbolt from Ap. Rh. *Arg.* 1.730 ff. (one item of the embroidered border of Jason's cloak): *Ἐν μὲν ἔσαν Κύκλωπες ἐπ' ἀφθίτῳ ἥμενοι ἔργῳ, / Ζηνὶ κεραυνὸν ἄνακτι πονεύμενοι· ὃς τόσον ἤδη / παμφαίνων ἐτέτυκτο, μιῆς δ' ἔτι δεύετο μοῦνον / ἀκτῖνος, τὴν οἵγε σιδηρείῃς ἐλάασκον / σφυρῇσιν, μαλεροῖο πυρὸς ζείουσαν ἀυτμήν.*

426 **his** (dative); **manibus** (ablative).

informare (as at 447) = 'to give shape to', a favourite word with Cicero in the sense of 'to sketch' (e.g. the ideal orator, *Or.* 7.33); so *informatum* = 'roughly shaped' (as opposed to *informe* (264), 'shapeless').

426 **polita**: for the meaning, here perhaps 'burnished', see the note on 436 *polibant.*

427 **fulmen**, 'a thunderbolt' (forked lightning), of which the *fulgores* (431), 'flashes of lightning', are one of the ingredients: cf. Seneca *N.Q.* 2.57.3 *fulgur quod tantum splendet...fulmen quod mittitur* (v.l. *incendit*); Ovid *Met.* 1.56 *et cum fulminibus facientes fulgura ventos*; and Lucan 4.77 f. *nec servant fulmina flammas / quamvis crebra micent: exstinguunt fulgura nimbi.*

427 **fulmen...quae plurima**: 'a thunderbolt, of the kind which the Father hurls down in profusion on to the lands from the whole sky'. For the construction Heyne compares *Od.* 5.421 f. *κῆτος...οἷά τε πολλὰ τρέφει κλυτὸς Ἀμφιτρίτη*; cf. also *A.* 7.199 f. *seu tempestatibus acti / qualia multa mari nautae patiuntur in alto*, and Cicero *Mil.* 9 *si tempus est ullum...quae multa sunt.*

427 **toto...caelo**: to explain *toto* Servius cites ancient astrological lore: *ab omni parte caeli: nam dicunt physici de sedecim partibus caeli iaci fulmina.* Pliny *N.H.* 2.(55).143 attributes this division to the Etruscans (*in sedecim partes caelum in eo spectu divisere Tusci*), and this has been strikingly confirmed by the discovery of the bronze liver at Piacenza the surface of which is divided up to represent these divisions of the sky (cf. Pallottino 163). The phenomena which occurred in each of the sixteen divisions were connected with a particular deity (cf. Martianus Capella 1.45 ff.); Jupiter, Diespiter, the supreme sky-god, might be thought to manifest his will in *any* part of the sky, hence, on this interpretation, *toto.*

Donatus (*Vita* 15) tells us of Virgil *inter cetera studia medicinae quoque ac maxime mathematicae operam dedit*, where (*ars*) *mathematica* included especially astronomy and astrology, and it is quite possible that Virgil had learned about this division of the sky from Varro or Nigidius Figulus. But it is hardly plausible to read a specific reference to this into the present passage; at the most Virgil is stressing the paramount power of Jupiter as sky-god.

The same phrase *toto...caelo* (ablative of place without a preposition as is usual with *totus, universus, cunctus* in prose as well) occurs in a similar connection at *G.* 1.474 f. *armorum sonitum toto Germania caelo / audiit*, where 'the sound of arms' is of course thunder.

429 **imbris torti**: 'pelting shower'; *tortus* unqualified suggests the usual sense of *torquere* = 'to hurl'.

430 **Austri**: the rain-bearing South wind is a natural ingredient; cf. Lucretius 5.745 *auster fulmine pollens.*

432 **flammisque sequacibus iras**: 'bursts of anger with pursuing flames': the wrath of Jupiter pursuing guilty victims.

433 f. **currumque rotasque volucris / instabant**: 'were busy at work on a chariot and flying wheels'. *instare* in this sense is normally construed with a dative, cf. *A.* 1.504 *instans operi regnisque futuris.* Servius *auctus* calls its use here with an accusative *nova elocutio*: the only other example known to *TLL s.v.* is Novius (*Atell.* 61) *instat mercaturam, spero, rem faciet: frugi est homo* (*si vera lectio*!). The construction is easily understandable as modelled on the analogy of, for example, *parare*, and Virgil probably ventured it because of the presence of one dative in the line already (*Marti*). (At *A.* 8.537 *instant* has the quite different sense of *impendent.*)

435 *aegis* is a transliteration of the Greek *αἰγίς* which (as at Aesch. *Choeph.* 593) means a storm-cloud with its thunder and lightning, the appropriate weapons of the sky-god Zeus or Jupiter. But by the time of Homer the *αἰγίς* had become represented (through the demands of visual art?) as an item of personal equipment: first, through the supposed etymological connection with *αἴξ*, 'a goat-skin', as a shaggy goat-skin (as apparently at *A.* 8.354), then as a protective covering (in the present passage a fully elaborated armoured breastplate). Then, as a piece of equipment, it came to be regarded as the *cause* of thunder and lightning when wielded by the sky-god, and as *his* possession (made for him by Hephaestus, *Il.* 15.308 ff.). But in Greco-Roman, as in Nordic mythology, the sky-god (Zeus, Jupiter; Wotan) has a warrior daughter (Pallas Athene; Brünhilde); and Pallas Athene too has the use of the aegis, cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 826-8 (Athene speaks) *κἀγὼ πέποιθα Ζηνί, καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν; / καὶ κλῇδας οἶδα δώματος μόνη θεῶν / ἐν ᾧ κεραυνός ἐστιν ἐσφραγισμένος.* She is named as its wielder in the present passage (and cf. *A.* 1.42 ff.), as at *Il.* 5.738 ff., 2.446 ff., 21.400 f. (It is more exceptionally wielded by Apollo at *Il.* 15.229, 15.307 ff. and 24.20 f.)

Here, as often in art, the aegis has the Gorgon's head in the centre: very appropriately, for the Gorgon was one of the most general symbols of blinding lightning and deafening thunder (hence probably the myth of the Gorgon's glance turning men to stone, which represented in the language of myth the highest degree of paralysed shock caused by lightning and thunder of great intensity). The same association underlies and explains the problematic passage at *A.* 2.615 f.: *iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas / insedit* nimbo *effulgens* et Gorgone *saeva*, where in rather compressed language Virgil is surely alluding to the aegis and its associations.

See further Roscher I. i. 149 ff. *s.v. Aigis*, and I. ii. 1698 f.

435 **turbatae**: *pro turbantis* Servius, favoured by Mackail, but unlikely. It means 'when roused, angered': so Heyne, citing the first Silius passage quoted on 438.

436 **squamis...auroque**: = *squamis aureis*, by hendiadys: 'with serpent scales of gold'; in keeping with the general paratactic tendency of his style, Virgil is extremely fond of linking nouns together with a simple copula (*et, -que, atque*), although their relationship to each other may be of a number of different kinds. It may be helpful to distinguish the following categories even though it is often impossible to allocate any particular example to one category exclusively: (1) at one end of the scale there are cases where neither of the conjoined nouns can be properly or completely understood without the other (e.g. 177 *toro et villosi pelle leonis*; 368 *foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae*; 694 *stuppea flamma manu telisque volatile ferrum*); (2) at the other end of the scale the nouns are synonymous, and all but one are strictly dispensable without impairing the sense (e.g. 88 *stagni placidaeque paludis*; 487 *sanie taboque*; 500 *flos veterum virtusque virum*). In between, one finds (3) examples where one of two nouns is really *descriptive* of the other and performs the function of an adjective (as here), or (4) instances where one noun is *explanatory* of the other (e.g. 289 *monstra...geminosque anguis*; 531 *sonitum et divae promissa parentis*): in this case the copula is often referred to as epexegetic. Finally (5) there are instances where a copula joins the name of a class and a conspicuous member of it, e.g. 330 *reges asperque...Thybris*; 698 *omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis.*

Before Virgil the spreading of the same idea over a series of correlated nouns had been indulged in by Lucretius 'almost ad nauseam' (Conway on *A.* 1.54): e.g. 1.147 *non radii solis neque lucida tela diei.*

436 **polibant**: the imperfect indicative of fourth conjugation verbs in *-ibam* (perhaps influenced by *ibam* itself from *eo*) came to look old-fashioned against the standard form in *-iebam.* Virgil's general practice is to use the *-ibam* form when the alternative would not have been metrically possible at any part of a hexameter verse, cf. *vestibat A.* 8.160; *nutribant A.* 7.485, *nutribat A.* 11.572; *A.* 7.790 *insignibat*; *A.* 10.538 *redimibat. poliebant* on the other hand would have been *possible* in a hexameter verse, although certainly very cumbersome.

The English derivative 'polish' has a much narrower range of meaning than the Latin *polire*, which meant 'to make neat and tidy', hence 'to smarten, adorn'; noteworthy is its connection with cultivated land, cf. Varro *R.R.* 3.2.5 *polito cultura* (*fundo*); and Nonius 66.18 citing Ennius: 'Politiones' *agrorum cultus diligentes, ut polita omnia dicimus exculta et ad nitorem deducta...Testes sunt / lati campi quos gerit Africa terra politos* (*Sat.* 10 f. V), and cf. *Ann.* 319 f. V *causa poliendi / agri.*

438 '(and) the Gorgon (herself) with rolling eyes and severed neck'. *vertentem*, 'rolling' for the more usual *torquentem*: cf. Silius Italicus' reminiscences, 9.460 ff. *tum virgo, ignescens penitus, violenta repente / subfudit flammis ora atque, obliqua retorquens / lumina, turbato superavit Gorgona vultu*; 4.232 ff. *inferias caesis mactat Labarumque Padumque / et*

Caunum, et multo vix fusum vulnere Brencum, / Gorgoneoque Larum torquentem lumina vultu. The lifelike Gorgon made by the Cyclopes recalls the animated maidservants created by Hephaestus in *Il.* 18.417 ff.

439–453 *Vulcan orders the Cyclopes to suspend all their tasks, and they turn their gigantic energy to making a shield for Aeneas.*

441 **usus** (*est*), 'there is need of'; after the model of *utor* the noun *usus* was also construed with an (instrumental) ablative, and then this construction attached itself to the phrase of equivalent meaning, *opus est.* The two were used as virtually interchangeable in Old Latin, cf. Plautus *Most.* 250 f. *speculo ei* (sc. *mulieri*) *usus est: quid opust speculo tibi?*, and *Amph.* 505 *citius quod non facto est usus fit quam quod facto est opus.* The ablative with these expressions was no doubt reinforced by the analogy of the ablative (of separation) after verbs of lacking, *egeo, careo,* etc. *opus est* superseded *usus est* in classical Latin; the latter is entirely confined to the old language and does not occur in Cicero (*Ad Att.* 9.6.3, *navis quibus usus non est omnis aut praecidisse aut incendisse dicunt* is a *citation* from an anonymous despatch); this seems to be the only example of *usus* bearing precisely this meaning of 'need' in Virgil, and it has all the air of a deliberate archaic revival; cf. also Livy 30.41.8 *reduceret naves, quibus consuli usus non esset.* See further *KS* 1, 387 f.

443 Note the sense pauses in the line: speech-endings not infrequently terminate at the strong caesura in the third foot (e.g. *A.* 1.370, 9.22, 11.98). A pause after the trochee in the fifth foot often occurs in Virgil to mark a halt before a transition to a sharply contrasting or antithetical notion: with *effatus, at illi* here compare in their contexts *at illum G.* 1.242 and *G.* 4.360, and *sed illos G.* 1.225. All other instances of this pause in this book are associated with vocatives (as often elsewhere): 188, 293, 578, 613, 643, 668. The one exception, anomalous and unparalleled, is 533 as printed by some editors: it is highly questionable (see the note there).

443 ff. 'And he said no more; but they all lay to the work with speed and an equal division of labour.'

446 f. Descriptive verse at its best: in 446 the hissing and clanking of the smithy (*s* and *c*(*h*), *qu-*); in 447 the pounding beat of the hammers (í*ngentem*...í*nformant*), the effort and labour (heterodyned feet, mostly spondees *íngĕntem clĭpe*(*um*) *ínfŏrmant*, and two harsh elisions *clipe*(*um*) *informant, un*(*um*) *omnia*). *vulnificus* is perhaps a new coinage, see the note on 82.

448 f. **orbibus orbis / impediunt**, transferred from the completely different context of the *lusus Troiae* (*A.* 5.584 f.), here = 'they firmly fasten the round layers to each other'; there were seven layers, as with Turnus' shield (*A.* 12.925). *septenos* = *septem*, see the notes on 47, 168. *orbibus* (ablative of instrument) and *orbis* refer to the same thing (*pace* Henry and Warde Fowler); a noun is often repeated idiomatically in expressions of reciprocity, cf. 692 *montis concurrere montibus* for *montis inter se concurrere.*

449-53 = *G.* 4.171-5 with a few changes, notably *antrum* for *Aetna* to suit the new mise-en-scène on Vulcano. Another surprising transference: Virgil's more frequent custom is to use material which had appeared as narrative in the *Georgics* for similes in the *Aeneid* (cf., for example, *G.* 3.232-4 with *A.* 12.103-6); here the reverse is true.

451 **lacu**, 'water-trough', see the note on 74, and cf. Ovid *Met.* 9.170 *ipse cruor, gelido ceu quondam lamina candens / tincta lacu stridit. stridentia* 450 is of course proleptic.

452 f. The idea of reinforcing the sense of the lines by a rhythm suggesting mighty labour and controlled effort was no doubt inspired by Callimachus' description of the same scene (*Hymn to Artemis* 59-61): *εὖθ' οἵγε ῥαιστῆρας ἀειράμενοι ὑπὲρ ὤμων / ἢ χαλκὸν ζείοντα καμινόθεν ἠὲ σίδηρον / ἀμβολαδὶς* (= *ἐκ διαδοχῆς* = *in numerum* (453)) *τετύποντες ἐπὶ μέγα μυχθίσσειαν.* But the rhythmic units themselves are quite different: in each of Callimachus' first two lines initial spondaic effort eases itself half-way through the line, and in the last the rapid dactylic clatter is arrested by the two labouring spondees at the end. Virgil's first line is entirely spondaic apart from the fifth foot, but the rhythmic effect of the line is not due simply to the *use* of spondees, it depends more on their *placing* in the line. There is another famous line used in connection with the Cyclops which is also spondaic except for the fifth foot: *A.* 3.658 *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.* The sound of this line suggests gigantic, slow, irresistible movement, and this is due to the fact that every word in the line except *ingens* is placed in such a position that the natural word-stress (accent) is reinforced by the metrical stress (ictus). In 452 on the contrary, *inter sese multa vi* is so placed as to cause a conflict of accent and ictus: hence the suggestion of conflict and resistance in the sound, and a total effect of gigantic effort laboriously overcoming great resistance. In Virgil's second line (453) of alternating dactyls and spondees the struggle has been overcome (for the moment at least) and the well-directed effort proceeds without hindrance, for in *versantque tenaci forcipe massam* accent coincides harmoniously with ictus.

For rhythmic effect comparable to that of 452, cf. *G.* 2.526 *inter se adversis luctantur cornibus haedi*; *A.* 10.146 f. *illi inter sese duri certamina belli / contulerant*; *A.* 12.720 *illi inter sese multa vi vulnera miscent* (of two bulls fighting for mastery).

453 **in numerum**: 'rhythmically', *numerus* = 'the measure' in music; cf. *E.* 6.27 f. *tum vero in numerum Faunosque ferasque videres / ludere* (and Lucretius 2.631 and 637). The author of the *Aetna* refers to the material of this passage with scientific disapproval (36 ff.): *discrepat a prima facies haec altera vatum: / illis Cyclopas memorant fornacibus usos, / cum super incudem numerosa in verbera fortes / horrendum magno quaterent sub pondere fulmen / armarentque Iovem: turpe et sine pignore carmen.*

454-468 *Meanwhile dawn breaks, and Evander and Aeneas rise immediately and meet for the appointed parley.*

454 ff. Knauer (254 ff.) rightly analyses the Homeric subtexture of this 'second day with Evander'. The broad scheme of events follows those of *Od.* 3.404 ff.: at dawn guest (Telemachus, Aeneas) and host (Nestor, Evander) meet to confer; the host offers the escort of his son (Peisistratus, Pallas) to the place where help may be obtained (Sparta, the Etruscan camp); the guest, who arrived by ship, departs on a horse (Aeneas) or in a chariot (Telemachus) he has been given. But important details are woven in from *Odyssey* 2 and 4, and from the *Iliad.* Evander is accompanied by hounds (461 f.) like Telemachus (*Od.* 2.11); Evander's dressing (457 ff.) is described in detail, like that not of Nestor but of Telemachus himself (*Od.* 2.1-4) and of Menelaus (*Od.* 4.306-9); the omen just before departure (523 ff.) has no parallel in the situation at Pylos, but there is an omen just before Telemachus leaves Sparta (*Od.* 15.160 ff.), interpreted (cheeringly) by Helen. Evander's prayer for his youthful strength recalls the *Iliadic* Nestor (see the note on 560 ff.). The description of the Shield of Aeneas which closes the book is the only extensive structural derivation from the *Iliad* (the Shield of Achilles) in *Aeneid* 8, apart from the visit of Venus (Thetis) to Vulcan (Hephaestus) (see the note on 370 ff.). The Catalogue of Latin Allies at the end of *Aeneid* 7 clearly overlies the Catalogue of Ships in *Iliad* 2, and in this respect *Aeneid* 7 opens the 'Iliadic' *Aeneid.* But the Homeric themes which underlie *Aeneid* 8 are predominantly Odyssean, and become Iliadic only with the emergence of the Venus-Vulcan-armour motif. As a whole the eighth book depends on a more complex interweaving of Homeric themes than any other book of the poem. In it the point of transition from 'Odyssey' to 'Iliad' may lie (Knauer 255 ff. is sure that it does) in an 'identification' of Helen's gifts to the parting Telemachus (*Od.* 15.125 ff.) with Thetis' gifts to Achilles (*Il.* 19.10 ff.).

454 **pater...Lemnius**: *Lemnos cara deo, nec fama notior Aetne / aut Lipares domus: has epulas, haec templa peracta / aegide et horrifici formatis fulminis alis / laetus adit,* Val. Fl. 2.95 ff.: the cult of Hephaestus (Vulcan) on Lemnos no doubt originated from its now extinct volcanic mountain, Moschylus, where Vulcan's smithy is located and described by Valerius Flaccus 2.332 ff. Like Vulcano (see the note on 416 f.), the island could be described as Ἡφαίστου ἱερά (scholiast on Ap. Rh. 1.851); it was there that he fell when hurled from heaven by Zeus for taking sides with his mother Hera (*Il.* 1.590 ff., and cf. Milton *P.L.* 1.742 ff.), and there was his favourite haunt (*Od.* 8.283 f.).

454 **haec...properat**: this transitive use of *properare* is poetic, cf., for example, [Tib.] 4.1.205 *seu matura dies celerem properat mihi mortem,* and does not appear in classical prose.

454 Note the very delayed position of *dum,* in a line with a symmetrical word-pattern: see the note on 22.

454 **dum...** The conditions of oral composition and delivery made it almost impossible for Homer to envisage or describe separated events as

taking place simultaneously (see W. B. Stanford, *Odyssey* I–XII, 292). For Virgil it was quite possible, although this is the only example in this book (*interea* at 280 is simply an indication of time and involves no change of scene). Homer often introduces a change of scene by *αὐτάρ* (as, for example, at *Od.* 24.472), and Virgil follows this convention (instead of making the contemporaneity explicit) at 370 and 608 *At Venus*....

455 **lux...alma**: *almus*, a sacral word, basically means 'fostering' (as opposed to *alumnus*, 'fosterling', both ~ *alere*), or 'nurturing' (*alma Ceres G.* 1.7), and comes to be applied to any beneficial power or force of nature, especially daylight (*lux* here and *A.* 1.306, 3.311, 11.182 f.; *dies* at *E.* 8.17, *A.* 5.64); it is obviously appropriate to mothers (cf., in their contexts, Venus at *A.* 1.618, and Cybebe at *A.* 10.220); *alma Phoebe* at *A.* 10.215 f. means little more than 'the kindly moonlight'.

Wakefield's rewriting of the lines (*Euandrum ex humili lecto lux suscitat alba / et matutinos volucrum sub culmine cantus*) is quite uncompelling, although it meets the problem of the *tectum humile* (see 461).

456 **volucrum**: cocks or swallows? Critics since antiquity have solemnly disputed the pros and cons; Wagner even seems to have done some field research among German rustics to try and find out. Servius *auctus* was undoubtedly right in saying that Virgil avoided specific names *propter sermonis humilitatem*; the everyday material details of Homeric realism or the ostensibly didactic *Georgics* were not suitable for the epic *Aeneid*.

Silius' reminiscence (14.22), the Straits of Messina are reputed to send across the barking of dogs *et matutinos volucrum tramittere cantus*, must presumably refer to the crowing of cocks.

457 **tunicaque inducitur artus**: *inducitur* in this context is a synonym of *induitur*, and this, as a member of the class of verbs of dressing and its opposite, is Latin's only trace of a native middle voice (the form of course is indistinguishable from the passive); *artus* here therefore is the accusative direct object of the middle (or semi-reflexive) verb *inducitur*, and *tunica* is an ablative of instrument. See the note on 29 *turbatus pectora*. English would turn the expression round and translate 'and he draws his tunic over his limbs'.

458 'and binds the Etruscan straps round the soles of his feet'. 'It matters little whether we take *pedum* with *vincula* or with *plantis*', Conington; word-symmetry, with a possessive genitive taking the place of the usual adjective, favours taking *pedum* with *plantis*.

Tyrrhena...vincula: Servius suggests that Virgil was thinking of the distinctive patrician and senatorial shoe with its four laces and moon-emblem which, like other official insignia, the Romans had adopted from the Etruscans. At least his shoes were in the style of his adopted land, his sword had been brought from home (*Tegeaeum* 459).

459 f. Evander puts on his baldric so that it passes from his left hip (*lateri*), where his sword is hanging, over his right shoulder (*umeris* is poetic plural); he then puts the panther-skin round his shoulders, flinging it back (*retorquens*) like a cloak over his left shoulder so that it hangs down on that side (*demissa ab laeva*) at the back, leaving the sword free and

accessible. Cf. *A*. 7.666 (*Aventinus*) *ipse pedes, tegimen torquens* ('flinging round him') *immane leonis*.

461 **limine ab alto**: Virgil is not at pains to describe the royal quarters in realistic detail, but it is baffling to see how a *tectum humile* (455) can have a *limen altum* if this means 'lofty threshold'. Markland on Statius *Silv*. 1.1.46 conjectured *arto*, 'narrow', to get over the difficulty, but it seems very unlikely that this is what Virgil actually wrote. Wagner, *QV* 40, thinks that Virgil is nodding (and Mackail *ad loc*. substantially agrees): he has fallen unthinkingly into an epic cliché, always associated with palaces and temples (cf. *A*. 11.482, *alto...de limine* of the *templum Palladis* in Latinus' city), but here curiously inept after the stress on the poverty and humility of Evander's settlement. It should however be noted that although the adjective *altus* came to lead a quite independent existence, it was originally the participle of *alo* and meant 'nourished' or 'increased' in any way (Virgil the etymologist would have known this); and physical tallness is so often a symbol, especially in heroic contexts, of high standing in honour or prestige that *altus* came to carry with it naturally the implication *regius* or the like. Cf. 541 *solio...ab alto* where 'high chair' carries with it the same implications as 'high table'.

There is a further problem: why does Evander *go out* of his house to meet Aeneas who was apparently (366 ff.) inside it? Precision is not to be looked for, but Virgil seems to have visualised Evander's *regia* as a collection of hut-chambers surrounding a courtyard (basically the same plan as a small Pompeian house). At 366 f. Evander leads Aeneas through the *ianua*, and then presumably across the courtyard or *atrium* into a guest-room; dawn rouses Evander from his own low-roofed room (455), which he leaves (461 f.) to cross the courtyard towards Aeneas' private quarter (= the guest-room) (463); but Aeneas is already up and about, so they meet in the courtyard itself which is in the centre of the hutments (467 f.) and hold their parley there. They are still sitting there when it thunders ominously (520 ff.); after this they all sacrifice to the household gods (543) in a niche off the courtyard; only then (546) does Aeneas leave through the main gateway. The same general view is taken by Mackail, *CR* 32 (1918), 106, and this interpretation of *mediis aedibus* (467 f.) is supported by *mediis in sedibus aulae* Statius *Th*. 2.148 in a passage clearly inspired by this one.

licito tandem sermone (468) is taken by commentators to mean that they at last have privacy (in the middle of the courtyard!); but what had not *permitted* an earlier discussion of state affairs was the religious festival of the day before, during which public business of any kind would be suspended.

461 f. An extreme case of the sense of a 'theme' being both incomplete and misleading without the 'variation'; the *custodes are* the *canes*: see the note on 436, (1).

462 **erilem**, a word frequent in comedy but rare in epic, gives a colloquial and homely touch to the scene; cf. *A*. 7.490 (also in connection with a domesticated animal, Silvia's stag) *ille manum patiens mensaeque adsuetus erili*.

463 **secreta**: poetry was fond of the neuter plurals of abstract nouns when they were metrically convenient; such 'poetic' plurals depend ultimately on their being analogous to straightforward legitimate plurals: *secreta* may have been helped by the analogy of *aedes* pl., 'house, rooms', as well as by the prose *secreta loca*. Compare the note on 29 *pectora*.

463 f. Note the stress on heroic etiquette and honour (*hospitis...promissi...heros*).

465 **matutinus**: see the note on *seram* 30, and cf. *G*. 3.538 *nec gregibus nocturnus obambulat* (*lupus*), and *Il*. 8.530 f. *πρῶι δ' ὑπηοῖοι σὺν τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες / νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρῇσιν ἐγείρομεν ὀξὺν Ἄρηα*.

466 **huic** = 'the former', **illi** = 'the latter', as also at 358: the opposite of the usual prose idiom.

467 f. See the note on 461 *ad fin.*

469-519 *Evander explains that the Arcadians themselves have only small military forces, but an Etruscan army, already mobilised, is waiting to be led against the tyrant Mezentius, who was expelled by the citizens of Caere and is now protected by Turnus. An oracle has declared that the leader of the army must be a foreigner; Evander is too old to accept the commission, but Aeneas is clearly fated to fulfil it, and shall be accompanied by Evander's only son, Pallas.*

469 **rex prior haec**: clearly an insertion between two sections which were independently composed; a *tibicen*, 'prop', in the full sense of the word (Mackail, *CR* 29 (1915), 226 compares *A*. 5.653, 9.295, 10.580, 12.631). It is probably a mere metrical memo, which would have been replaced by a complete line in the final draft, although the unit it builds (up to the strong caesura in the second foot) is itself used elsewhere to introduce direct speech (cf. 499, 532).

470 f. 'Greatest of Trojan leaders, while you are safe and sound I personally shall never allow that the realm and kingdom of Troy is conquered...'

471 **equidem**: Servius thought this was compounded of *ego* and *quidem*, and some modern philologists agree (see *LHSz* 2, 174, *KS* 1, 805) (others take it as formed from *e* (of quite uncertain origin) and *quidem*). It is most usually (and in Virgil always) found with the first person singular, like the English 'I personally...'.

472 f. Livy (1.7.8) says that Evander ruled *auctoritate magis quam imperio*—as might naturally be the case with an exile.

ad belli auxilium: 'to give help for war'; the genitive is objective.

pro nomine tanto: 'to match so great a name as ours'; *nomen* has the overtones of 'power, dominion' which it would have in *nomen Arcadium*, cf., for example, Sallust *Cat*. 52.24 *gentem infestissumam nomini Romano*.

473 **Tusco...amni**: see the note on 65. *claudimur* recalls the time when the Tiber was the early boundary between Rome and Etruria, after the territory on the right bank had been surrendered to Porsena; cf. Juvenal 8.265 *imperii fines Tiberinum virgo natavit* (Cloelia, *A*. 8.651).

474 **Rutulus**: for the collective singular of national names, see the note on 705 f.

475 **tibi ego**: note the marked tendency in verse as well as prose for personal pronouns to be placed next to each other at the beginning of the clause; cf. *ego te* 496.

475 **ingentis populos**: listed in the Catalogue of the Trojan Allies *A*. 10.166 ff. For the extent of Etruscan land-power see the note on 65, and Livy 5.33.7-9 (where Ogilivie gives an excellent summary of its history). Their maritime power reached its peak in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.: Virgil alludes to it in *condensae...puppes* (497).

475 f. **opulentaque regnis...castra**: 'camps rich in royal forces', a slightly unusual way of saying *castra opulentorum regnorum*; cf. Val. Fl. 5.607 *cras acies atque illa ducum cras regna videbis.*

476 **quam...salutem**: the construction is discussed in the note on 487.

478 ff. For the ἔκφρασις τόπου (picked up by 481 *hanc*) see the note on 597.

478 ff. **urbis Agyllinae**: Agylla, the ancient Caere, modern Cerveteri, about 30 miles north-west of Rome (*haud procul hinc* 478) and three and a half miles from the coast, on a spur of volcanic tufa-rock, which although it weathers quickly (*saxo...vetusto*) was extensively used for building. Through neighbouring ports, particularly Pyrgi (the modern Santa Severa), it received a great quantity of foreign, especially Greek, imports, and the discoveries in the extensive necropolis show that at its peak in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. it must have been an extraordinarily rich and populous centre (*multos florentem annos* 481), perhaps one of the most spendid of the then-known world. See Pallottino 112 f., and for plates of Caere and maps of Etruria and the Etruscan empire, *Atlas of the Classical World* (A. A. M. van der Heyden and H. H. Scullard, 1959), 94 f. See also J. Heurgon, *JRS* 56 (1966), 3 f. for a reassessment of Caere in the light of the bilingual inscriptions of Pyrgi, confirming its importance.

(Ogilvie on Livy 1.2.3 distinguishes between Caere and its *port* Agylla, but it is difficult to conceive of a harbour on a hilltop, which is where Virgil places the *urbs Agyllina* (*iugis* 480), and his younger contemporary Strabo (5.220) explicitly identifies Agylla and Caere; cf. also Rutilius Namatianus *De Reditu Suo* 1.225 f. *iam Caeretanos demonstrat navita fines: / aevo deposuit nomen Agylla vetus.*)

479 f. **Lydia...gens**: Roman poets (e.g. Catullus: see Ellis and Fordyce on 31.13) followed the majority of ancient historians in the view that the Etruscans originated from Lydia. The only dissenter was Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.30), who claimed that they were indigenous. The debate continues between modern supporters of the two theories. The majority view of the ancients derived most plausibility from resemblances between Etruscan culture, especially in its 'orientalising' phase, and the culture of Asia Minor: but these may be due to later trade and infiltration, rather than to the original immigrants, if such there were. Pallottino has tried to by-pass profitless speculation about origins by

stressing that the characteristic elements of Etruscan civilisation developed on Italian soil. Scullard 34 ff., after a judicious examination of the alternative views, inclines to a tentative form of the theory of eastern origin.

quondam is to be taken with *insedit.*

480 **iugis...Etruscis**: most Etruscan cities near the sea were built on a natural elevation dominating the coastal strip: Caere is typical (see the note on 478 ff.). Such a siting offset the menace of pirate-raids.

481 **deinde**: for this delayed adverb, see the note on 22; this is a special case, for *hanc...florentem* = *postquam floruit,* and *deinde* is delayed to second position only in its own clause.

484 **effera**: for the descriptive stopped dactyl (impetuous violence here), see the note on 1-6.

484 **capiti**: see the note on 144 f.

reservent: sc. *eadem* or *talia.*

485 ff. The practice described here was attributed to Etruscan *praedones* by Cicero in a passage of the lost *Hortensius,* cited by Augustine *contra Pel.* 4.15: *qui quondam in praedonum Etruscorum manus incidissent, crudelitate excogitata necabantur, quorum corpora viva cum mortuis, adversa adversis accommodata, quam aptissime* (v.l. *artissime*) *colligabantur.* In *PVS* 4 (1964-5), 36 ff., I suggested that this form of human sacrifice was originally intended to placate (and nourish) the spirits of the Etruscan dead clamouring for revenge, and a potential menace to the community itself if unappeased. Mezentius may have been connected with the custom as overlord and king-god of the Etruscan Confederation.

The Etruscan custom of sacrificing captives at the burial of their own warriors (Servius on *A.* 10.519), the origin of the Roman gladiatorial show, and Livy's record (7.15.9 f.) that in 358 B.C. the Tarquinienses ritually slaughtered (*immolarunt*) three hundred and seven Roman captives, suggest that Mezentius' torture was simply a more grisly form of the same thing. The human sacrifice made by Aeneas (*A.* 10.517 ff.) has not only literary precedent (Achilles in *Il.* 23.175 f.), but also reflects intermittent practice during Virgil's own lifetime (cf. Weinstock 398 f.).

487 **tormenti genus**: in apposition with the whole idea of the preceding sentence, cf. *A.* 6.222 f., 9.53, 10.311, 11.62 f. In all these cases the noun is neuter, and may be either nominative or accusative, because both of these cases could express exclamation, out of which the appositional use arose—the difference is purely one of emphasis. (There is no need to assume the ellipse of a verb like *est* or *dico.*) Highly-ordered classical prose avoided appositional nouns—they looked too much like untidy afterthoughts—and preferred to subordinate the idea in a relative clause (cf. *A.* 8.475 ff. *iungere castra paro, quam fors inopina salutem / ostentat*). See further *LHSz* 2, 429 f.

487 **sanie taboque fluentis**: Servius says *sanies mortui est. 'tabo' viventis scilicet sanguine*: an entirely sophistical distinction, inspired solely by 485 *mortua...vivis*; both words refer to the gory putrefying flesh of those already dead, with which the living bodies dripped (*fluentis*). They may well be a hardened formula of the high style, cf. Ennius *Thyestes*

(*Sc.* 362 f. V) *ipse summis saxis fixus asperis evisceratus / latere pendens saxa spargens tabo sanie et sanguine atro.* Compare also Lucan 6.547 ff. (the witch Erichtho preying on the crucified dead)...*nigramque per artus / stillantis tabi saniem* (a near-tautology) *virusque coactum / sustulit.*

489 **infanda furentem**: 'raving inhumanly'; for the accusative neuter plural adjective used adverbially see the note on 248 *insueta.*

489 f. Note the effect of two consecutive heterodyned spondaic lines: like the slow menacing marking-time of resolute demonstrators.

492 ff. That Mezentius fled to Turnus (*Rutulorum...in agros*), thus leaving the Etruscans without leader or king, is the most substantial difference in *Aeneid* 8 between Virgil's account of the story and the traditional accounts (see the Introduction, p. XIX). Cato (cited by Servius on *A.* 1.267) and Livy (1.2.3) say that Turnus fled to Mezentius, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.64) differs only in saying that Turnus (*Τυρρηνός* = the Etruscan) was killed before the remaining Rutulians allied themselves with Mezentius.

But in his overall account of Latian-Etruscan relations in the *Aeneid*, Virgil is completely at variance with what must have been one of the oldest and most respected versions, that of Cato in the first book of his *Origines* (the main outlines of which can be reconstructed from scattered notes of Servius, see Peter *HRF* 44 ff.); Cato's sequence seems to have told how Latinus originally granted a piece of land to the Trojans for settlement, but further encroachments by the Trojans led to war against the Latins and their allies, the Rutulians led by Turnus. In the first engagement in which Aeneas was involved Latinus was killed. Turnus then fled to Mezentius and renewed hostilities with his support; in the second engagement Turnus fell and Aeneas 'disappeared' (*non comparuit*). Ascanius inherited the war and eventually killed Mezentius in single combat.

Virgil most probably originated the version he gives, and if he did not, must have been in a distinct minority in preferring it to the other. His object was to make the story of 'Aeneas in Latium' culminate in Aeneas' marriage with Lavinia, and the founding of a city through the synoecism of immigrants and natives. This scheme made an early and complete alliance with the Latins impossible, and the telescoping of the chronology ranged them and Turnus and Mezentius simultaneously against Aeneas, who was in any case lacking in troops. See further Heinze, *VeT* part I, ch. 5, and P. T. Eden, *PVS* 4 (1964-5), 33 f.

The traditional story of Turnus perhaps reflects part of the history of Ardea, the capital of the Rutuli, when Etruscan domination, established there in the sixth century B.C., was becoming effectively weakened.

(Cato's account is summarised by Servius on *A.* 9.745 to defend Virgil against the majority of critics, who thought that Turnus should have met his death at that point.)

492-7 The succession of homodyned fourth feet in these lines, a rhythm which *tends* to suggest a paragraph-ending (see Appendix, p. 197), combined with a high proportion of end-stopped lines, makes Evander sound as if he is simply giving the chief points of a résumé.

493 **confugere et...defendier**: in lively impressionistic narrative a past finite verb (with its meticulous details of person and tense) is often replaced by a historic infinitive; usually there is more than one such infinitive, and usually they do not open the narrative passage but follow after the time-reference has been established as past by appropriate finite verbs (here the historic presents in 490 f.). Normally the historic infinitive conveys some shade of meaning covered by the imperfect indicative (a continuous state, or the beginning or repetition of actions), but this is not always the case: in some passages, as here, it is difficult to see its equivalence to anything but a simple past (aorist perfect).

The subject of the historic infinitive is nominative (here *ille*, 492), and the whole idiom is a piece of verbal shorthand: the nominative is used in its basic function to draw attention to the temporary centre of interest, and the present infinitive, originally a substantive, expresses the verbal notion pure and simple without any other consideration. This is also adequate explanation of the origin of the construction; one need not follow Quintilian (9.3.58) in believing that it arose from ellipse of *coepi*.

See further Woodcock 15, Palmer, *LL* 317 f., *LHSz* 2, 367 f.

493 **defendier**: forms of the present infinitive passive in *-ier* instead of *-i* occasionally found favour with Virgil, both because of their archaic flavour and their metrical convenience: this latter is usually exploited by placing the termination in the dactylic fifth foot of the hexameter (cf. *G.* 1.454 *immiscerier igni*; *A.* 4.493 *accingier artis*; *A.* 7.70, 9.231, 11.242): its position here in the fourth foot is exceptional. See further Austin on *A.* 4.493.

494-6 'And so the whole of Etruria has risen in righteous fury; they demand their king back for punishment with active war. I will unite you with these thousands, Aeneas, as their leader.'

Note the abrupt change of subject in 494-5.

497 **condensae**: first, and most frequently, in Lucretius (e.g. 1.575, 606).

497 **litore**: the ships are drawn up on the beach on the coastal side of the open plateau near Caere (*campo* 504 = *latis...in arvis* 605) where the Etruscan host is camped.

498 **signaque ferre iubent**: 'they command the standards to be advanced'. In this and similar cases English idiom prefers a passive infinitive; this is possible in Latin too, but more often one finds an active infinitive after *iubeo* and *veto* when the personal object of the verb (= the subject of the infinitive) can be easily supplied from the context or is quite general and unspecific; cf. *A.* 2.3 *infandum, regina, iubes* (sc. *me*) *renovare dolorem*; Livy 29.7.6 *receptui canere cum iussisset* (sc. *tubicines*); Cicero *Phil.* 13.6 *Fortitudo dimicare iubet*, 'Bravery commands one to fight'. Compare 646 f. See further *KS* 1, 717.

Metrical convenience was of course a decisive factor in choosing the infinitive form, contrast *A.* 1.647 f. *munera... / ferre iubet* with *A.* 8.175 f. *dapes iubet et sublata reponi / pocula*, and cf. Val. Fl. 5.261 f. *reddi iubet exitiale sacerdos / vellus et Haemoniis infaustum mittere terris.*

498 **haruspex**: literally 'an inspector of entrails', *haru-* being cognate with Greek χορδή, Latin *hira*, 'gut'. Divination by this means was *the* characteristic part of the *disciplina Etrusca*; augury, on the other hand, was a widespread Italic custom, practised in, for example, Umbria as well as Latium and Etruria. The *haruspices* never acquired the same official status as the augurs in Republican Rome, but their advice was increasingly sought after in the desperate crises of the Second Punic War, and eventually the Roman State requisitioned a constant supply from Etruscan cities. See further Pease's note on Cicero *Div.* 1.3.

499 **fata canens**: see the notes on 49 and 340.

Maeonia = *Lydia* (479) = Etruria.

500 'flower and valour of a historic people'. *flos* here implies both youth (see the note on *flore* 160) and choiceness (cf. Plautus *Casina* 18 *ea tempestate flos poetarum fuit*, and English 'the pick of the bunch').

For the alliteration *veterum virtusque virum*, significant here, see the note on 2.

502 **nulli**: Virgil did not like a self-contained spondaic word at the beginning of the verse; even so, he did not have Ovid's clear aversion to it: in *A.* 8 there are 25 instances, of which four or five are followed by a sense-pause, and this is an average number (see Austin on *A.* 2.80 and 4.185; R. D. Williams on *A.* 3.57 and 5.80). The reasons for its general avoidance are discussed in the Appendix, p. 196. Most of the instances which Virgil admits can be explained under one of four heads: (1) the slow, ponderous *rhythm* reinforces the meaning (e.g. *stabat* 653); (2) the *meaning* of the word is naturally emphatic and can stand in this emphatic position appropriately (e.g. *toto* 497 and *nulli* here); (3) *rhetorical contrast* would have given the word a leading position in prose too (e.g. *vobis* 138); (4) *adverbs* and *connectives*, closely associated in sense with what follows, do not really interrupt the flow of the verse (e.g. *exim* 306, *quorum* 547). *olli* at 94, 594 is an echo of Ennian rhythm (*Ann.* 555, 624 V). See further Norden 435 f.; Winbolt 16 ff., 107 ff.

502 **tantam subiungere gentem**: 'to harness such a great nation' (the Etruscans).

503 **externos optate duces**: 'choose leaders from abroad'; for the 'oracular plural' Conington compares *A.* 7.98 *externi venient generi*.

503 **tum Etrusca**: note the elision; the monosyllables most often elided in the *Aeneid* are *me*, *te*, *se* and *iam* (cf. 557), but such elision is by no means frequent: it is harsh and colloquial (and so occurs often in Horace's *Satires* but never in his *Odes*) and seems to be admitted by Virgil only often enough to avoid an over-studied smoothness. See Norden 456 ff.

505 ff. The legend, followed by Virgil, which takes Aeneas to Caere to meet a friendly army under Tarcho (cf. 603 ff.), is an obscure one; it is alluded to in riddling words at Lycophron *Alexandra* 1232 ff. The connection of Tarcho with Caere is however established by the discovery there of a tomb with inscriptions, which cover two centuries, of the Etruscan family Tarcna (Latin Tarquinius), of which Tarcho is clearly a representative (see Ogilvie on Livy 1.60.2).

505 **oratores**: 'ambassadors'; *orator* basically = *is qui orat*, 'a spokesman' charged with an oral message; so used by Ennius (*Ann.* 207 V) *orator sine pace redit regique refert rem* (so at *Ann.* 170 V, *spernitur orator bonus, horridus miles amatur* there is not simply a contrast between the arts of peace and war; the line means that well-intentioned diplomacy has had to give way to violent hostilities). Cf. also *A.* 7.153, 11.100, 331, and Livy 1.15.5 *Veientes pacem petitum oratores Romam mittunt.*

505 f. **coronam / cum sceptro...insignia**: a golden crown and a sceptre surmounted by an eagle were two of the emblems of Etruscan kingship; the others were an ivory throne, a purple tunic decorated with gold, an embroidered purple toga, and the *fasces* with axes in them. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (3.61 f.) was no doubt presenting the general Roman view in saying that these items first appeared in Rome under Tarquin the Elder, and were adopted by the succeeding kings; they then passed to the annual consuls, except for the crown and embroidered purple toga which were reserved for *triumphatores*. Virgil is clearly following this tradition (the actual historical facts may have been different, and are debatable; see Ogilvie on Livy 2.16.1 and L. B. Warren, *JRS* 60 (1970), 49 ff.).

506 f. **mandat...insignia..., / succedam**: *mando* means 'I commit (something or somebody to someone's charge)'; what is committed can be either an object (a noun, here *insignia*) or a wish or command (a noun-clause, here *succedam*): both together, as here, are unusual although similar double constructions occur at *G.* 1.25 f. *urbis*(*ne*) invisere, *Caesar*, / *terrarumque* velis curam; *A.* 11.180 f. (if these lines are not spurious) *non vitae* gaudia quaero, / *nec fas, sed nato manis* perferre *sub imos*; *A.* 3.41 f. *iam* parce sepulto, / parce *pias* scelerare *manus*. The simple parataxis of *mando, impero* with a jussive subjunctive (of will or volition) was the rule in the earliest stages of the language; the classical language generally stresses the subordination by introducing the subjunctive with *ut*, but the old-fashioned simplicity is often kept by Caesar (e.g. *B.G.* 3.11.2 *huic mandat, Remos reliquosque Belgas adeat*) and Virgil.

misit mandatque: note the difference in tense to mark the precise time-relationship between the two events.

508 Cf. *A.* 5.395 f. *sed enim gelidus tardante senecta / sanguis hebet, frigentque effetae in corpore vires. saeclis* here may simply = *annis* as Heyne suggests, but it is much more likely to mean 'generations' or 'lifetimes'. As elsewhere Homer's Nestor is lurking under Virgil's Evander, and he was reputed to have outlived two generations of mortal men, *Il.* 1.250 ff. *τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων / ἐφθίαθ', οἵ οἱ πρόσθεν ἅμα τράφεν ἠδ' ἐγένοντο / ἐν Πύλῳ ἠγαθέῃ, μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσεν* (hence Laevius' grotesque coinage *trisaeclisenex*, Aulus Gellius *N.A.* 19.7.13). Virgil's condensed phrase no doubt alludes to this; translate: 'But my old age...worn out with the passing of generations.'

510 f. 'I would encourage my son (to accept the leadership), but for the fact that he is of mixed descent through his Sabine mother and derives part of his native origin from here (Italy).'

With Italian blood in his veins Pallas was ineligible to be the foreign leader of the Etruscans (503). But even though born in Italy and of an Italian mother the more important part of his 'native origin' was the civil rights and status he inherited from his father and his father's city.

510 **mixtus matre Sabella**: a compressed phrase; Virgil probably started thinking of the perfectly normal *natus matre Sabella* (ablative of origin), and then avoided this prosy phrase and adapted it to his particular context by substituting *mixtus* (which slightly dislocates the ablative into one of respect). Quite different (*pace* Conington) is *A*. 7.661 *mixta deo mulier*, where *deo* is best regarded as dative (cf. *Il*. 16.176 γυνὴ θεῷ εὐνηθεῖσα and *Od*. 1.73 Ποσειδάωνι μιγεῖσα). Similarly, in the next line, *hinc partem patriae traheret* is a bolder variation of the prose *hinc partim originem duceret* or the like.

512 **fata...numina**: linked here and at 574 f.; they are obviously near-synonyms bearing their basic meanings 'the *spoken* decrees of fate' and 'the *nodded* decrees of fate'.

513 **Teucrum atque Italum**: for the gen. pls. see the note on 93.

514 **spes et solacia**: because, as Servius points out, Evander was a widower and Pallas his only son.

518 f. 'I shall give him two hundred Arcadian horsemen, the picked strength of our youth, and Pallas will give you the same number as his own gift.' Evander turns the fact—that Pallas will head a force of 400 cavalry to support Aeneas—into a compliment to his son.

munere is preferable to the variant *nomine* in the Medicean MS, and read by Servius, as being slightly less usual and prosaic: in point of sense there is nothing to choose. The variant may derive from *A*. 8.121.

robora pubis / lecta: a clear reminiscence of Catullus 64.4 *lecti iuvenes, Argivae robora pubis*; see Austin on *A*. 2.18 for similar formulae which stress heroic physique.

520-540 *Aeneas and Achates ponder the implications of what Evander has said when, in a clear sky, there is thunder and lightning and the sight of clashing armour. Aeneas recognises the omen as the fulfilment of Venus' promise to bring him arms made by Vulcan, and foresees destruction for Turnus and his forces.*

520-3 'He had hardly finished speaking, and Aeneas, Anchises' son, and the faithful Achates would have gone on keeping their faces fixed on the ground and trying to clear up many cruel doubts in their gloomy hearts if the goddess of Cythera had not given a sign in the clear sky.'

520 ff. **vix ea fatus erat, defixique ora tenebant...putabant, ni signum...Cytherea dedisset**: the simple form of the statement at, for example, *A*. 2.692 f. *vix ea fatus erat senior, subitoque fragore / intonuit laevum* is here elaborated: (1) *-que*, where one might have expected *cum inversum*, introduces not a statement of the next important event, but a description of how the listeners had been and still were reacting to Evander's speech; (2) *putabant ni dedisset*: the 'mixed conditional' form

is due to an ellipse: they were thinking *and would have continued to do so* if she had not given a sign; cf. *A.* 6.358 ff. *iam tuta tenebam, / ni gens crudelis... / ferro invasisset,* and for examples in Cicero and Livy, and especially Tacitus, see *KS* 2, 404.

520 **ora** is to be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ as the direct object of *both defixi* (used in a middle sense, see the note on 29), *and tenebant.* The same explanation holds good for *A.* 2.1 *conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant* which is not an example of 'theme and variation' (*pace* Henry, and Austin who follows him), but means 'they all fell silent and were keeping their faces intent upon him'; the second phrase, like the phrase here, may *imply* silence but does not explicitly state it any more than *A.* 6.469 *illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat. ora teneba(n)t* may be an Ennian clausula, cf. *Ann.* 87 V *Sic expectabat populus atque ora tenebat* (but Vahlen keeps the reading of the *codex optimus, ore timebat*).

521 f. Aeneas' reaction to Evander's speech is gloomy silence, chiefly because an offer of 400 cavalry is no immediate solution to his pressing need for troops, and his gloom is lifted only by the prospect of invincible arms. But the *multa dura* also included a premonition of the fate of the young Pallas: that, as Warde Fowler (*ASR* 86 ff.) points out, is conveyed by the patronymic *Anchisiades*; Aeneas the son thinks of Pallas the son, *spes et solacia* of his father. The same connection of ideas is made explicit at *A.* 10.821 ff. (but earlier at *A.* 10.250 the patronymic has no such implication).

Aeneas takes precedence in the word-order (cf. 586), 'Achates knows his place' (Wilkinson 177)—as a courtly subordinate; *fidus* has a more ceremonious tone than *fidelis.*

522 **multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant**: a line with rich overtones of archaic gravity: *cum corde* instead of a simple locative ablative (cf. Cato, cited by Gellius 16.1.4, *cogitate* cum *animis vestris: si quid...*); the strictly superfluous possessive adjective *suo* with another adjective *tristi*; the sense of *putare,* 'to clear up', all suggest archaic (in fact Ennian) phraseology. See Norden on *A.* 6.185 *suo tristi cum corde volutat,* and 332 *multa putans*: and cf. Ennius *Ann.* 482 V *tristi cum corde,* and *Ann.* 51 V *aegro cum* (*tum?*) *corde meo*; and Lucretius 1.413 *meo...diti de pectore.*

putare derives from the basic agricultural layer of the Latin vocabulary; originally 'to prune, clean away impurities', it came to mean 'to clear away anything superfluous or hindering': so here, Aeneas and Achates 'were trying to clear up' in their minds the difficulties they foresaw, until the divine omen put an end to their thoughts by showing the solution.

523 ff. *Venus' sign, thunder and lightning, and the appearance of the arms.*

(1) At *Il.* 19.13, when Thetis deposits the arms in front of Achilles, they ring aloud, but their arrival is not heralded by any portents. Virgil transforms the purely physical manifestation of the arms in the sky into a supernatural omen: the flash of lightning and the thunder in a clear sky, twice repeated and confirmed, is an infallible sign.

(2) In terms of Roman augury, it is here a sign which gives advice, cf. Seneca *N.Q.* 2.39 (*fulmen*) *consiliarium ante rem fit sed post cogitationem,*

cum aliquid in animo versantibus aut suadetur fulminis ictu aut dissuadetur. Aeneas, dismayed by the prospects of war, and doubting whether the small reinforcements he has just been offered really mark him out as the man of destiny, is encouraged by the sign to persevere.

(3) Thunder and lightning and the song and flight of birds as augural signs belong to a basic stratum of Roman religion which antedates anthropomorphic gods; later, presumably any one of these relevant to the situation at the time could be connected with the sign. This meets Gladstone's objection (*Studies on Homer*, vol. 3, 523) that for Venus to use lightning is 'utterly irreconcilable' with her Homeric character: Virgil is not primarily thinking of her Olympian attributes. By implication, however, he adds her to the list of those who borrowed the aegis of Zeus (see the note on 435), and this is later explicitly done by Valerius Flaccus, probably on the basis of this passage: *tonitru pater auget honoro*, 2.198 f. (and cf. 2.115 f.).

(4) The comparison of thunder with the sound of an *Etruscan* trumpet alludes to the Etruscan origin of Roman augury (the supplier of Seneca's information cited above has the good Etruscan (Volaterran) name of Caecina). The significance of the trumpet-omen is made clear by Plutarch *Sulla* 7.3: various prodigies announced the contest between Marius and Sulla, 'but most important of all, out of a cloudless and clear sky there rang out the voice of a trumpet, prolonging a shrill and mournful note, so that all were amazed and terrified at its loudness. The Etruscan wise men declared that the prodigy foretokened a change of conditions and *the advent of a new age*.' The same omen is commonly associated with Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon (Lucan 1.530 ff., 569, 578; Petronius *Bellum Civile* 134 f.) and his death (*G.* 1.474 f.; Tibullus 2.5.73 f.; Ovid *Met.* 15.783 ff.).

(5) The trumpet had widespread fame as an Etruscan invention (cf. Soph. *Ajax* 17 χαλκοστόμου κώδωνος ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς); and the word *tuba*, like *lituus*, is itself probably of Etruscan origin (see Ernout, *RPh* 24 (1950), 5 ff.). So the trumpet-omen is particularly appropriate to foreshadow a *military* alliance between Aeneas and the Etruscans.

523 **caelo...aperto**, 'in a cloudless sky', = *caeli in regione serena* 528; cf. *G.* 1.393 f. *nec minus ex imbri soles et aperta serena / prospicere et certis poteris cognoscere signis.*

Cytherea: the legend that foam-born Aphrodite first stepped on land on the island of Cythera, south of the easternmost prong of the Peloponnese, reflects the fact that her cult spread from there to the mainland of Greece.

524 'for a lightning-flash, unexpectedly hurled from the high heavens...'; *vibratus*, 'hurled' (by Venus), cf. Ovid *Met.* 2.308 *unde movet tonitrus* (sc. *Iuppiter*) *vibrataque fulmina iactat*; literally 'shaken as it is launched', cf. Ovid *Met.* 8.374 f. *vibrata per auras / hastarum tremulo quatiebant spicula motu. vibratus* (or *vibrans* intr.) refers to light, 'flashing', as well as motion, cf. 391 f. *coruscus, micans.* See the note on 427 for *fulgor.*

525 **et ruere omnia visa repente**: 'and the whole sky suddenly seemed to come crashing down' vividly describes the impact on the

observers; contrast *G.* 1.324 *ruit arduus aether*, where there is a literal downpour.

525 The rhythm of the line is unusual: it suggests speed by means of the dactyls, and disturbance by means of the elision *ruer(e) omnia* and the slight pause after *venit* (see the note on 390 *intravit calor*).

526 **Tyrrhenus**: the epithet is transferred, from *tubae* to *clangor*, not primarily (*pace* Norden 407) to avoid the homoeoteleuton of *Tyrrhenáeque tubáe*, but in the interests of word-symmetry (see Appendix, p. 200).

526 With *mugire* one must understand *visus* from *visa* in the preceding line; another example (see 35 and note) of *video(r)* used of a sound impression, cf. *A*. 4.490 f. mugire videbis / *sub pedibus terram* (and Austin's note there), and 529 below, *rutilare* vident *et pulsa* tonare. The idiom is not confined to Virgil, cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.8.77 f. *videres / stridere...susurros*; Propertius 2.16.49 *vidistis toto sonitus percurrere caelo.*

The line owes something to Ennius *Ann.* 531 V *clamor...per aethera vagit.*

527 'and again and again there roars a mighty crash'; *increpare* comes to be used of any loud noise (the variant *intonat*, more literal and prosaic, probably derives from *A*. 9.709); Silius 16.94 f. uses it of a trumpet giving the battle-signal, *dixerat, et raucus stridenti murmure clangor / increpuit*; Lucan 9.288, of clashing brass cymbals, *Phrygii sonus increpat aeris.*

528 **inter nubem** is curious in view of the insistence on cloudlessness; Henry is no doubt right in saying that it is there for the benefit of the materially-minded, to provide visible support for the arms (like the *nimbi* of 608 which support Venus).

529 **sudum**, in Virgil only here (as noun) and *G.* 4.77 (as adjective), = *se-udum*, 'without moisture, cloudless'; the prefix *se-* = *sine*, as in *securus, secerno*, etc.

530 **animis**: the ablative singular and plural of *animus* are often found in close connection with verbs and adjectives denoting mood and emotion (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 7 *angor animo*; *T.D.* 1.96 *pendemus animis*); the ablative can be regarded as either local or as an ablative of respect; the latter is perhaps preferable, because in the singular a genitive of respect *animi* is often found as an exact equivalent (but not in classical prose), e.g. Plautus *Trin.* 454 *sanus mentis aut animi.* See *LHSz* 2, 75.

531 'recognised *in* the sound the promises of his goddess mother'; *sonitu divae* would have been quite possible, but Virgil preferred a hendiadys, see the note on 436.

promissa: no previous promise of either a favourable omen or the delivery of divine armour has been made by Venus in the *Aeneid*, but Thetis had made such a promise to Achilles in the *Iliad* (18.134 ff.). Virgil can afford to be allusive not only about general Homeric phenomena (concealment by cloud, *A*. 12.52 f.), but also about a well-known detail of the narrative (as here).

532 Hirtzel and Ladewig removed the traditional punctuation after *profecto*, and took it as a participle (dative singular masculine). The line can then be interpreted to mean 'Do not ask what event these portents forebode *for him who has set out*: it is *I* who am summoned'. But (1) to

make an emphatic contrast, the pronoun *ego* ought to be balanced by another pronoun or a noun, making it quite clear that Pallas is referred to: the contrast can hardly be extracted from the participle alone; (2) Pallas had not yet 'set out' in any literal sense, and to understand *profecto* to mean vaguely 'who has embarked on this enterprise', as Mackail suggests, is unsatisfactory.

Since Servius *profecto* has traditionally and correctly been taken as the particle of personal affirmation (see Nägelsbach, *Lateinische Stilistik* 432), 'I'm sure', which then appropriately links up with *ego* in the following line. The word certainly had a lively colloquial flavour which did not appeal to serious poetry, and it does not occur anywhere else in Virgil. But this is no serious objection: it occurs once only in Horace too (*A.P.* 315) (where it cannot possibly be construed as a participle), and is paralleled by the unique occurrence of the equally colloquial *sane* at *A.* 10.48 (see Axelson 94).

For the emphatically repeated *ne* cf. *A.* 11.278 and 12.72 f. Aeneas is at pains to stop Evander guessing what he half foresees himself—the doom of Pallas.

532 **ne quaere**: for *ne* negativing an imperative, a non-classical usage, see the note on 39 *ne absiste.*

532 ff. The passage from 532 to 536, ending with the 'half-line', looks from the number of obscurities in it (see the individual notes) as if it probably did not receive the final touches. But even as it stands, the latent irony of the situation should not be missed. At 520 ff. the company was pondering gloomily on the future; uncanny thunder and fearful lightning rend the sky; Evander is terrified by the thought that this is a prediction of disaster for his son (whose name was the last spoken word, 519). But the sign is, on the contrary, the most cheering that Aeneas could have received. Hence Aeneas' emphatic reassurance to Evander that the portents concern himself (and nobody else), and mean good not evil.

533 Even in antiquity there was doubt as to whether this line should have a heavy pause after *poscor* or after *Olympo.* Hirtzel opted for the former; 533 f. then mean 'it is I who am summoned. My goddess mother prophesied that she would send this sign from heaven', or perhaps '...in the sky' (cf. Catullus 62.1 with 20). But a heavy sense-pause at this position in the line without rhetorical point (see the note on 443) is a rarity, and throws great stress on the word(s) which simultaneously ends the line and begins a sentence: *Olympo* can hardly bear this (we had no reason to suppose that the sign would come from hell).

A heavy pause at the end of the line produces a more normal balance between sense and rhythm. *ego poscor Olympo* means 'it is I who am summoned by heaven', i.e. by the divine power responsible for the sign. There is almost a double metonymy, *Olympo* for *caelo* for *numine divino* or the like: cf. 385 *moenia* for *urbes* for *urbani.*

The phrase as a whole is comparable in syntax and sense to *A.* 8.12 *fatis regem se dicere posci*: both repeat the important theme of Aeneas the destined leader (see Introduction, p. XXII).

534 **cecinit missuram...laturam** (536): the full form of the standard expression would be *cecinit* se *missuram* esse; the reflexive subject pronoun in *oratio obliqua* is however commonly omitted in Roman comedy when it bears no particular stress, and in Plautus *esse* is regularly omitted from the 'future infinitive'. The same double omission is not entirely uncommon in prose, but by Virgil's time it must have had an old-fashioned or at least 'traditional' ring about it (cf. *A*. 12.654 f., 762).

See further Woodcock 82 f., and for the omission of other than reflexive subject pronouns in *oratio obliqua*, and with other tenses of the infinitive, Austin on *A*. 4.383.

535 **ingrueret**: 'if war should make its onslaught': the etymology is uncertain, perhaps *in(g)ruo*. Before Virgil the word occurs only at Plautus *Amph*. 236 *hostes crebri cadunt; nostri contra ingruunt*, in a parody of a military dispatch. Livy has a similar phrase at 6.6.6 *ubi quid bellici terroris ingruat*; and the sinister overtones of the word naturally recommended it to Tacitus.

536 **auxilio**: predicative dative, 'as a help'. This use of the dative, which is common enough with a restricted number of nouns (usually abstract) (see Woodcock 49), developed when the dative of interest denoting the *person* concerned in the action (often as recipient) was extended to *things*, which then came to denote the end or purpose of the action.

538 ff. Line 539 is an exact repetition of *A*. 1.101 (with *volves* for *volvit*): what was earlier stated of the Simois is here predicted of the Tiber, and the link between the two (which shows Virgil's careful methods of composition) is *A*. 6.86 ff., where the Sibyl prophesies that Aeneas will meet his Trojan past all over again in Latium: *bella, horrida bella, / et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno. / non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra / defuerint* (and see Norden *ad loc.*). This is a very special case of the repetition of a line (see Sparrow 103). The prediction made here was evidently fulfilled: at *A*. 12.35 f. Latinus says *recalent nostro Tiberina fluenta / sanguine adhuc campique ingentes ossibus albent.*

540 A strong pause at the main caesura in the second foot is often associated in Virgil with a forceful speech-ending following it, cf. *A*. 2.49 *quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentis*, and see Winbolt 21 f.

541-553 *Aeneas and the company sacrifice to Evander's household gods; he then selects his most courageous troops to follow him and sends the rest to Ascanius with the news. The Trojans are provided with horses, with a specially magnificent one for Aeneas.*

541 **dicta dedit**: = *dixit*, a periphrasis common in comedy (e.g. Plautus *Cist*. 595 *perfectum ego hoc dabo negotium*), Lucretius, and Virgil (*A*. 1.63 *laxas dare* = *laxare*; *A*. 3.69 f., 9.323, 12.437). This idiom is connected on the one hand with the vulgar Latin (and subsequently Romance) compound perfect, *id habeo dictum*, 'je l'ai dit', and on the other with *(red)do*, 'to make' something different from what it was before (cf. *frictum ego illum*

reddam, Plautus *Bacch.* 767). (*dare* with a *noun* is to be explained differently: see the note on 405, and Page on *dare ruinam*, *A*. 2.310.)

solio...ab alto: see the note on 461, and compare the *torus altus* of *A*. 2.2 with which Aeneas was honoured by another royal host.

542 ff. 'and first of all he stirs up the altar, slumbering with Hercules' fires, and joyfully approaches the guardian spirit and humble gods of the household, worshipped the day before.'

542 It is possible but unlikely that *Herculeis* strictly qualifies *ignibus*, and refers to a torch, still alight, brought from the previous evening's sacrifice to light the way for Aeneas and Evander through the growing dusk; if this were the meaning, *ignibus* would be instrumental ablative going closely with *excitat*. It is more likely that we have here a bold variation, dictated by word-symmetry, of what would be expressed in normal prose as *et primum ignes sopitos aris Herculeis excitat*: cf. *sopitos suscitat ignes* at *A*. 5.743 and 8.410 (hence the variant *suscitat* here), and Ovid *Met.* 8.641 f. *et ignes / suscitat hesternos*. There is then a double hypallage, and the result is another example of *nova cacozelia*.

But if this is so, where is the altar of Hercules (*aras* poetic pl.)? It cannot be the Ara Maxima of the day before, because Aeneas is now somewhere in Evander's home on the Palatine. The best explanation, due to Heyne, is that Hercules was one of Evander's household gods, the *genius* or *lar domesticus*. *lar* and *penates* were originally vague protective powers without personal characteristics; these they later acquired from specific *demi*-gods with whom they came to be identified. The *lar familiaris* of Plautus' *Aulularia* corresponds to a ἥρως in the Greek original (see Leo, *Hermes* 43, 127): Hercules' identification with the *lar* is proved by his frequent appearance with the *penates* in Pompeian wall-paintings, and he may have been worshipped as *domesticus* (if the restoration of *CIL* 14.3542 is correct). He was of course entirely suitable to be identified with the *Lar* of Evander's home, where he had once stayed (362 f.).

543 **hesternum larem** can only mean the *lar* to whom sacrifice had been made the day before, as could be assumed, though not mentioned in the narrative. If so, this phrase too is a bold one, an extreme case of adjective for adverb (see the note on 30), *hesternum* being equivalent not merely to *heri* but to *heri adoratum*. The variant *externum* (*MR*) was disliked by Servius. It can = ξένιον, *hospit*(*al*)*em*, 'of his host', where the context makes this meaning clear, as at Cic. *Off.* 2.64, but the overtone of 'alien' seems pointless, if not jarring, here.

Two attempts to solve some of the problems by emendation are worth mention. Heyne suggested that the correct reading might be not *Herculeis* but *Herceis*, a reference to the altar of Ζεὺς ἑρκεῖος, the protector of the enclosure of the household (see Austin on *A*. 2.513): Evander's hutment would have been as likely to contain such an altar as Priam's palace, or rather its ruins, at Lucan 9.979 '*Herceas*' *monstrator ait* '*non respicis aras?*'. But once again the emphasis on Evander's Greek customs is not evidently justified here. Warde Fowler, *ASR ad loc.*, suggested that *Herculeis* and *hesternum* should be transposed to give *hesternis* (542) and

Herculeum (543). This is an attractively simple remedy, but the result is straightforward and Ovidian (cf. *Met.* 8.641 f. above), of the type that Virgil often consciously rejected.

These and other difficulties—that only Aeneas and Achates had spent the night with Evander, and the *Troiana iuventus* of 545 *are* the *socii* of 546 whom Aeneas only rejoins later—led Mackail to the probable conclusion that this passage is confused and unrevised. The one clearly intelligible feature of it is that sacrifice regularly follows a supernatural appearance, as at *A.* 3.176 ff., 5.743 ff. and 7.135 ff.

544 Every word in the line has religious overtones: for *laetus* see the note on 275 *volentes*; *adire* is regularly used of approaching a consecrated place (see *TLL* 1, 622, 18 ff. *s.v.*); for *mactat* see the note on 85; *lectas de more* = 'selected in the traditional way', for victims as well as sacrificers had to be free of taboo-blemishes (see the note on *lecti* 179); *bidentes* means sheep whose two front teeth (the first of the permanent ones) are noticeably longer than the rest (the 'milk' teeth), and so are at a specific stage of growth and count as *hostiae maiores* as opposed to *lactentes* (this correct explanation of *bidentes* goes back at least to the Augustan Julius Hyginus, *de Vergilio*: his and rival views are discussed by Aulus Gellius *N.A.* 16.6). The adj. *bidens* came to mean 'sheep' because it was the most available mature animal for sacrifice; others which fulfilled the religious qualifications could of course be used, cf. Pomponius, cited by Non. Marc. 53 M *Mars, tibi voveo facturum, si umquam redierit, bidenti verre.* For the same group of ideas, cf. *A.* 4.56 f. *principio delubra adeunt pacemque per aras / exquirunt; mactant lectas de more bidentis.*

545 Servius *auctus*' suggestion (quoted in the note on 15 *his coeptis*) that Virgil used the form *Euandrus* and not *Euander* in order to avoid the end-rhyme with *pariter* may partly account for the form here (and 558 after *pater*), but *Euandrus* occurs elsewhere (100, 185, 313) where no such reason obtains and is Virgil's preferred form.

546 **graditur**, sc. Aeneas: the context makes this clear; the abrupt change of subject from the preceding line is surprising only because Virgil's organised style (like Cicero's) generally takes care to avoid even small ambiguities of this type. In the comparatively unorganised style of Ennius and the early annalists abrupt changes of subject are common (see *LHSz* 2, 733); but they are natural enough in any case, and there is hardly any question here of deliberate archaism. Cf. the notes on 119 and 494-6.

548 f. **prona...aqua**: 'on the down-flowing water' of the stream, *prono...amni* (*G.* 1.203); on this they 'float idly (*segnis*) down', not needing to row. Whether they arrived or not does not emerge from the later narrative.

549 The rhythm of the line pictures the effortlessly smooth passage: accent and ictus coincide in every foot except the second; and the weak caesura in the third foot (the only one in the line) contributes to the effect, cf. *A.* 4.486 *spargens umida mella soporiferumque papaver.*

552 **exsortem**: *exsors* seems to have been first used, if not actually

coined, by Virgil, and endowed with two senses (cf. the note on *egelido* 610). Basically it means 'without lot': so in *A*. 6.428 *vitae exsortes* it means 'having no lot, share in' (= *expertes*, ἄκληροι); here, however it means that the horse was not drawn by lot, but specially set aside before the division was made (ἐξαίρετος) (made explicit at *A*. 9.270 f. *ipsum illum* (Turnus' horse)... / *excipiam sorti, iam nunc tua praemia, Nise*). The first and more natural meaning had a much more flourishing life in Silver Latin than the second. For the problematic *A*. 5.534 see R. D. Williams' note.

553 **unguibus aureis**: gilding the claws of the lion-skin made it an especially valuable gift, cf. *A*. 5.351 f. For the scansion of *aureis* see the note on 372.

554-584 *The prospect of war looms large in the settlement. Evander regrets the passing of the strength and valour he had as a young man, and prays passionately for immediate death if his son is doomed.*

555 *limina regis*, a variant here, looks like a cliché intended to refer to a regal palace, although in his present situation it can only refer to Tarcho's *tentorium*: *litora* is preferable because it produces a less common phrase whose meaning however suits the situation: the Etruscan ships were beached on the shore (497), and their camp was on an inland ridge near it (cf. 603 ff.). *limina* and *litora* are often confused by scribes, and relative MS authority alone (which in fact here supports *litora*) is not decisive.

556 f. **propiusque periclo / it timor**: 'fear goes closer to the danger'; their anxieties go to meet the peril which is not yet at hand, and among them looms the *phantom* of War (*Martis...imago* is not simply a periphrasis like *imagine lunae* 23), actual hostilities (*Mars praesens*, cf. 495) still being a thing of the future.

557 **iam**: for the elision see the note on *tum* 503. See Austin on *A*. 2.112 and 254 for Virgil's surprising fondness for eliding *iam*, usually in well-defined word-patterns.

558 **dextram complexus** (cf. 124) **euntis** (sc. *Pallantos*).

559 **inexpletus lacrimans**: 'weeping insatiably'; for the two-adjective idiom where the first has adverbial force, see the note on 299. *inexpletus*, because of its participial form, is an unusually bold instance, and early attempts were made to regularise it out of existence. Two variants, both 'facilitations', had appeared by the fifth century: *inexpletum* (adverbial acc. neuter) *lacrimans* and *inexpletus lacrimis*.

The *sense* of *inexpletus* is the same as Lucretius' majestic but prosaic adverb (3.907) *insatiabiliter deflevimus aeternumque*; for past participle forms with an *-able, -ible* sense, see the notes on 195 *inaccessam*, 588 *conspectus*.

560 ff. This speech of Evander's is the most high-pitched emotionally (and therefore rhetorically) in the book: each of its three sections (560-71, 572-7, 578-83) makes up a unit longer than the normal Virgilian maximum of four lines, a feature which is otherwise exclusive to *exordia* (see the note on 374-80). Anaphora plays an obvious part in organising each of the three

sections. The speech ends with a run-over first foot dactyl (583 *vulneret*), like other speeches which trail off in a speechless emotion: *A.* 6.886 (Anchises' ghost), *A.* 9.250 (Aletes), *A.* 10.495 (Turnus). The last word of this speech is also an omen of the disaster which Evander fears (see Conway on *A.* 1.165), and with *supremo* the poet more than hints at what will happen. 584 brings the episode to an end with all the weight of a paragraph-closure, a homodyned fourth foot (see Appendix, p. 197) and two finite verbs 'framing' the line (see the note on 78).

The exemplar of all scenes of leave-taking is the parting of Hector and Andromache in *Iliad* 6. But the fierce emotion and pathos here owe much more to Alexandrian influence, especially Ap. Rh. 1.260 ff. where the heartbreaking effect of separation between Jason and his parents is exclusively mirrored, as here, in the reactions of those who stay behind: the young heroes themselves leave, unmoved, in an aura of splendour, Jason 'like a god', Pallas like the Morning Star (a simile which may itself have been *suggested* by Apollonius, see the note on 589 ff.).

560 ff. Evander's sentiment and unrealisable prayer were no doubt inspired by the words of Nestor at *Il.* 7.132 ff. *αἲ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον, / ἡβῷμ', ὡς ὅτ' ἐπ' ὠκυρόῳ Κελάδοντι μάχοντο / ἀγρόμενοι Πύλιοί τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἐγχεσίμωροι, / Φειᾶς πὰρ τείχεσσιν, Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα. / τοῖσι δ' Ἐρευθαλίων πρόμος ἵστατο, ἰσόθεος φώς*, and cf. also *Il.* 7.157, 11.670 ff. But recalling youthful prowess against local enemies was obviously common practice among heroes *emeriti*: Laertes does the same (with the same prayer-formula) at *Od.* 24.376 ff., and cf. Aeson in Val. Fl. 1.336 ff. and Lycomedes in Statius *Ach.* 1.776 ff.

The enemies of Nestor and Laertes however were human even if heroic: Evander's adversary is a Geryon-type monster (for the implications of this see the note on 563 ff.).

560 **o...referat si Iuppiter annos**: subjunctives of wish came to be regularly introduced by *ut*(*i*)(*nam*) (or in Old Latin by *qui* = 'in some way or other'). (*o*) *si* with a present subjunctive to express a wish begins to be found in Augustan poetry, e.g. Horace *Sat.* 2.6.8 f. *o si angulus ille / proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum.* The tone of *o si* is exactly the same as the English 'if only'; the clause is self-subsistent and the present subjunctive (as in ideal conditions) carries no implication about whether the wish is or is not capable of being fulfilled; cf. *A.* 6.187 f. *si nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus / ostendat.* In form however we have the protasis of a conditional, and in the present passage there is a (delayed) apodosis, at 568 ff. *non...divellerer...neque...dedisset...*, *viduasset*, where the tenses, as in prose, convey the impossibility of fulfilment.

561 **primam aciem**, 'the front rank of the battle-line' (= *προμάχους*); *primam here* is strictly attributive (cf. *A.* 9.595), and *cum primam* here is not equivalent to *cum primum* (see the note on 407).

561 **Praeneste sub ipsa**: the name of the town is feminine here and at Juvenal 3.190: more often it is neuter as at *A.* 7.682 where Servius comments *dicimus autem et* hoc *Praeneste...et* haec *Praenestis.* Changes of gender are often caused by the influence of a synonym or related concept:

here the underlying notion of *urbs* may account for the feminine; cf. Ovid *Fasti* 6.61 ff. *inspice Tibur / et Praenestinae moenia sacra deae / ...nec Romulus illas* (sc. *urbes*) */ condidit;* Rutilius Namatianus *De Reditu Suo* 1.325 f. *eminus Igilii* (neuter) *silvosa cacumina miror, / quam* (sc. *insulam*) *fraudare nefas laudis honore suae.*

562 Evander burns the shields of the enemy dead. This custom, in honour of Vulcan, was instituted by Tarquinius Priscus after victory over the Sabines (Servius here and Livy 1.37.5); it was followed by Marcellus after his defeat of the Carthaginians at Nola (Livy 23.46.5). Warde Fowler (*ASR ad loc.*) sees in it an attempt to be rid of the mischief latent in the possessions of aliens; but the taboo gradually broke down under a more materialist view of the value of booty. Epics set in the age of heroes maintained the custom: Val. Fl. 7.28 f. At *A.* 11.193 ff. the Trojans and Etruscans not only burn valuable spoils (*enses decoros*); their own dead are cremated with their *non felicia tela* (this gives added point to the death of Turnus: by actually wearing the baldric of his dead foe Pallas he was, in Roman though not Homeric terms, challenging a taboo-prejudice).

In an interesting article in *PVS* 5 (1965-6), 26 ff., F. H. Sandbach points out that when Virgil conceives of men in the mass he describes their shields as *scuta* (as opposed to the *clipei* of individual warriors). These, the shields of the contemporary Roman army, were made of wood with a covering of leather and a rim and boss of metal: hence they were combustible (as here) and buoyant on water (as at *A.* 8.539).

563 ff. Erulus is clearly an invented doublet of Geryon: both had three bodies and hence three lives (compare Aesch. 869 ff. with Servius here). By implication, Evander in his prime was as powerful a monster-slayer as Hercules.

Feronia appears at *A.* 7.800, in connection with the Jupiter of Anxur (Tarracina), as deity of the grove to the north of that town (on the border of the Pomptine marshes), where there was also a spring (Horace *Sat.* 1.5.24 *ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympha*). She was widely worshipped in central Italy (see Latte, *RRG* 189), especially at the *lucus Capenatis* near Mt Soracte (Livy 1.30.5 and *A.* 7.697), and in origin was probably an Italic wood-water spirit, as suitable as any other for mothering on Erulus. (In historical times she seems to have been regarded primarily as protectress of slaves; according to Servius *auctus* here there was a stone seat in her temple at Tarracina with the engraved verse *bene meriti servi sedeant, surgant liberi.*)

564 ff. **tris...terna...ter**: the repetition of the same word at the beginning of successive clauses (anaphora) is a common method of concentrating emphasis in colloquial speech; it also organises the structure of such a succession of clauses, and so naturally became a figure of rhetoric, frequent in all literary Latin, prose and verse. Virgil is fond of a group of three (cf. the repetition of *si* at 574 ff.); in the present instance note the variation in the form of the word, and cf. *A.* 1.448 f. aerea *cui gradibus surgebant limina nexaeque /* aere *trabes, foribus cardo stridebat* aenis.

'at his birth his mother Feronia had given him three lives—a fearful

thing to tell—and three sets of arms to wield (three times he had to be laid low in death; but then this right hand of mine robbed him of all his lives and stripped him of all three sets of arms).'

terna arma movenda should be connected with what precedes, because of the obvious parallelism between *nascenti...animas...arma* and *leto... animas...armis*; if the phrase is joined with what follows it means that Evander had to wield three sets of arms: simultaneously? impossible; in succession? implausible.

568 f. **umquam** at the end of the line echoes *usquam* at the end of the line before with rhetorical emphasis, and is comparable with the repetition at 271 f.: contrast *fuisset* 396 f. and the note there.

There is no significant difference of meaning between *usquam* 568 and *umquam* (v.l. *usquam*) 569; the chief function of both is to emphasise the negative.

569 f. **finitimo... / huic capiti insultans**: 'trampling on my neighbouring independence'. For the meaning of *capiti* see the note on 144 f. *finitimo* is best taken as an adjective with *huic capiti*, a rhetorical balance to *dulci tuo amplexu* (and cf. Soph. *Antigone* 1 *ὦ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα*); *huic* = *meo*, as often in the popular speech of comedy (e.g. Plautus *Stichus* 751 *fugit hoc libertas caput*, where *hoc caput* virtually = *me*).

Ribbeck's proposal to read *finitimos* with the corrector of the Palatine MS produces a feasible Virgilian variation (*finitimos...saeva dedisset funera* = *finitimos saeve reddidisset funera* (i.q. *cadavera*); for *dare funera* cf. *G.* 3.246 f.), but the authority for the reading is weak, and the need for adoption slight.

571 The reference is not to the citizens of Caere (489 f.) but to those of the Palatine whom Evander had been too old and weak to protect.

573 ff. Like the strong caesura with a pause in the third foot (see the note on 49 ff.), a pause at the strong caesura in the fourth also has a tendency to echo in the following line: cf. 60 f., 180 f., 256 f., 287 f., 293 f., 376 f., 403 f., 532 f., 565 f., 667 f.; here, in 573-5 it echoes in the following two lines. All the same, most lines with this caesura occur in isolation from another. The strong caesura in the fourth foot seems an entirely natural place to have a sense pause: but it was uncommon in Greek hexameter poetry, and is a Latin exploitation (see Winbolt 42 ff.).

576 **venturus in unum**: cf. *E.* 7.2 *compulerantque greges Corydon et Thyrsis* in unum, and *A.* 2.716 *hanc ex diverso* sedem *veniemus* in unam, 'to one and the same place'; Greek uses the same idiom, *εἰς ἓν ἔρχεσθαι.* Translate: 'If I live with the prospect of seeing and meeting him.'

577 **durare laborem**: *durare* originally = 'to harden' (trans.); then 'to be hardened, patient' (intrans.), often coupled with an infinitive on the analogy of *patior*; finally, in Augustan poetry and post-Augustan prose, 'to endure' with a direct object, but only here in Virgil.

578 **sin aliquem**: it is usual to find the unemphatic (enclitic) forms *quis, qui* immediately following *si(n), nisi, ne, num* and relative pronouns; *aliqui(s)* in this position has a stronger tone, 'any at all', cf. Livy 39.28.13

sin aliquis respectus est mei, 'if you have any regard for me at all'. When the indefinite pronoun or adjective is separated from the introductory word and cannot lean on it enclitically, *aliqui*(*s*) is the rule, e.g. Livy 1.17.4 *timor*...*patres incessit*, ne *civitatem sine imperio, exercitum sine duce*...*vis* aliqua *externa adoriretur*.

579 **crudelem abrumpere vitam**: the same words are used by Euryalus' mother praying to have her grief for her son's death ended by death for herself also (*A*. 9.497). Here however Evander is looking into the future and means a life which *will be* cruel if he outlives his son (*crudelem* is proleptic). It is tempting to think that the 'later' passage in *A*. 9 was composed first and afterwards remembered for the present passage.

580 **spes**: generally = 'hope'; much less frequently, as here, 'anticipation, expectation', like Greek ἐλπίς, cf. *LS s.v.*

581 **mea...voluptas** recalls the endearments of comedy as at Plautus *Truc*. 353 (and love-poetry), just as *artificis scelus* (whatever its construction at *A*. 11.407) recalls its abuse (in phrases like *scelus viri*, etc.).

sera, because he was the child of Evander's old age. 'Late' is a comparative notion, 'only' a superlative one: there is a slight gain in rhetorical point if the latter follows the former, and *sera et sola* is in fact offered by some MSS.

582 **neu**: when, in an independent sentence, a negatived jussive subjunctive follows one which is itself negatived (by *ne*) it is regularly introduced by *neve* (*neu*); when as here it follows one which is positive it is regularly introduced by *neque* (*nec*): *neu* in this second case is a rarity of Augustan poetry (cf. *A*. 7.265), and its rarity may account for the variant *ne* (but a final clause is a less effective end to the rhetorical sweep of the passage). See further *LHSz* 2, 338; *KS* 1, 193.

585-607 *The cavalry column starts off, with Aeneas at its head and Pallas, conspicuously dressed, in its centre, and gallops towards the sacred grove of Silvanus, near to which the Etruscans are encamped; there they arrive and rest.*

Henry well compares the brilliance of 585 ff., and its position in the narrative, with *A*. 4.129 ff.: 'To the reader unacquainted with the sequel both pictures are as gay and exhilarating as they stand to him who reads the story for the second, or it may be for the hundredth time, in the saddest contrast to the grim catastrophes by which their sunny morning brightness is so soon, so very soon, to be overcast, and for ever extinguished.'

585 **iamque adeo**: *iam* can be used like the English 'now' without any temporal sense, simply to mark a transition to a new subject: this is particularly clear in didactic or 'lecturing' contexts like Cic. *Inv*. 2.68 *iam iura legitima ex legibus cognosci oportebit*, Virgil *G*. 2.57 *iam quae seminibus iactis se sustulit arbos*. The use of *adeo* as here to throw emphasis on the word it follows, like the Greek enclitic γε, is common in Roman comedy and a favourite with Virgil; *iamque adeo* is used in this same way at *A*. 2.567, 5.268, 864, 11.487.

588 Mynors in his Oxford Classical Text accepts Markland's conjecture

it, for the MSS' *in*, as the first word of the line, but an expressed main verb is not indispensably required.

588 **chlamyde et pictis conspectus in armis**: 'conspicuous in his cloak and emblazoned arms'; *chlamys* is a Greek military cloak, suitable for an Arcadian commander. For the past participle acquiring a sense equivalent to an adjective in *-bilis* (*conspectus* = 'remarkable') see the note on *inaccessam* 195.

589 ff. Pallas is radiantly dazzling like the Morning Star rising from the Ocean-stream (the Greeks had given the name Ὠκεανός to the river which they imagined to encircle the then-known earth and to be coterminous with the horizon). The simile owes something to *Il.* 22.317 ff. (where the armed Achilles is as dazzling as the Evening Star): *οἷος δ' ἀστὴρ εἶσι μετ' ἀστράσι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ / ἕσπερος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν οὐρανῷ ἵσταται ἀστήρ, / ὣς αἰχμῆς ἀπέλαμπ' εὐήκεος, ἣν ἄρ' Ἀχιλλεὺς / πάλλεν δεξιτερῇ*, more to *Il.* 5.4 ff. (whose context Virgil had in mind at 620 and 680 f.), where Diomedes is compared with the star of summer (Sirius, the Dog Star) after it has bathed in the Ocean-stream: *δαῖέ οἱ ἐκ κόρυθός τε καὶ ἀσπίδος ἀκάματον πῦρ, / ἀστέρ' ὀπωρινῷ ἐναλίγκιον, ὅς τε μάλιστα / λαμπρὸν παμφαίνῃσι λελουμένος Ὠκεανοῖο· / τοῖόν οἱ πῦρ δαῖεν ἀπὸ κρατός τε καὶ ὤμων* (Apollonius too had imitated this simile, and compared Jason with Sirius rising from Ocean, *Arg.* 3.956 ff.).

Lucifer...Venus: when the planet Venus appears in the eastern sky before dawn it is called Lucifer, 'Bringer of the light' (of day); in the western sky after sunset it is called Hesperus, the Evening Star (cf. Catullus 62.35 *Hespere, mutato...nomine Eous*).

It was significantly Lucifer which rose at the end of the night of the sack of Troy (*A.* 2.801), and this guiding star was Aeneas' mother's (cf. *A.* 1.382 *matre dea monstrante viam*).

ante alios...ignis: Servius tells us that Venus also had stars in the constellations Taurus and Ursa Major: these of course would be fixed stars; for *ignis* = 'heavenly body', cf. Catullus 62.20.

594 f. 'They advance armed through the thickets, by the way that brings the goal of their journey nearest.' Thickets would be as unhelpful to the cavalry here as they were helpful for the stealthy advance of the Gallic infantry on the Capitol at 657, but they chose that way because it was the shortest to their objective (*qua proxima meta viarum* is a curious paraphrase for this); the thickets might conceal an enemy ambush, so they proceed *armati* (perhaps they have also dismounted); when they emerge on to the open plain they raise the signal and gallop off.

For *olli* see the note on 94, and for the pauses of 595 the note on 260.

596 The sound and rhythm of this splendid onomatopoeic line, probably the most obvious and quoted example of descriptive dactyls in Virgil, owes a lot to Ennius, as Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.1.22) points out: cf. *Ann.* 224 V *explorant Numidae totum: quatit ungula terram*; *Ann.* 277 V *consequitur. summo sonitu quatit ungula terram*; *Ann.* 439 V *it eques et plausu cava concutit ungula terram.* Even so, 'four-footed, galloping sound' looks like Virgil's own invention, and a rather bold one, more reminiscent of the

language of Greek tragedy than unfanciful Latin: contrast *A.* 11.875 *quadrupedumque putrem cursu quatit ungula campum.* For the compound adjective, see the note on 82 *concolor.*

597 **est ingens...lucus...amnem...** (603) **haud procul hinc...** (606) **huc**: an interruption of the main thread of the story to set the scene for the next main event, (606) *huc pater Aeneas...* This is an entirely natural formula of narrative; it started in Homer (*Il.* 6.152 f. is an inconspicuous example, *Il.* 2.811 ff. is more developed), and was taken up in the messengers' narratives of tragedy (e.g. Aesch. *Persae* 447 ff.); for its subsequent history see Austin's notes on *A.* 4.480 ff. and 483 (it seems eventually, perhaps through over-elaboration, to have exposed itself to parodies of the high-flown style). The main narrative is always picked up after the ἔκφρασις τόπου with a demonstrative pronoun or adverb (*huc, hinc,* etc.). The simplest kind of ἔκφρασις begins *est locus...* (*A.* 3.163, an early book which contains a surprising number of fairly short instances, see R. D. Williams on *A.* 3.13-16), but there are numerous variations like *A.* 8.233 *stabat acuta silex...* 236 *hanc.* The beginning can be quite disguised and worked into the main narrative, *A.* 8.190 *...hanc aspice rupem...* 193 *hic* (cf. *A.* 6.548 ff. and 703 ff.). *A.* 8.416 ff. (...423 *hoc*) is elaborated into a topographical inset; and the example here bifurcates into 603 *haud procul hinc* and 606 *huc* (compare the internal divisions of the very elaborate *A.* 1.159 ff.). The example at 478 ff. shows how natural and integral to narrative this formula was.

597 f. Another numinous grove (see 348 ff.), again holy and awesome (see *religio,* 349 f.).

Caeritis amnem: probably not the Minio (Mignone), as Servius thought (it is coupled with Caere at *A.* 10.183 in a *regional* not local description, and was in fact the boundary between the territories of Caere and Tarquinia), but the Vaccina which runs alongside the town, or perhaps even the stream which feeds it, the Fosso della Mola.

The genitive of the *noun* Caere occurs only here (cf. *TLL Onomasticon* 32, 3 *s.v.*).

599 **cavi**: the hills are not 'hollow' in themselves, but as a unit *enclosing* the grove.

nigra nemus abiete: possibly on the ridge to the south-east of Cerveteri, whose name, Monte Abetone or Abatone, may well derive from *abies,* like Italian *abetina,* 'a fir-grove'.

599 **nigra...abiete,** 'black fir trees'. Collective singular nouns denoting the *material* from which something is or can be made are common, cf. Caes. *B.G.* 5.12.5 *materia cuiusque generis...est praeter fagum atque abietem,* where *abietem* really means 'fir wood', and the same is true of *A.* 2.16 *sectaque intexunt abiete costas.* This quite understandable idiom was extended by the poets to cases like the present one where a number of *individual* items is referred to. See Löfstedt 1^2, 14.

599 **ābiĕtĕ**: note the scansion; only the nominative singular of *ăbĭēs* (as at *A.* 8.91), *ărĭēs, părĭēs* allow themselves to be fitted naturally into hexameter verse; the other cases are made tractable by treating the *i* as

semi-consonantal (pronounced like *y*), and this, with the consonant *b* there already, causes the first syllable to be lengthened (but does not alter the fact that the *vowel-sound a* is and remains short). Ennius seems to have been already quite bold in using this device, cf. *Ann.* 436 V *hic* insidiantes *vigilant, partim requiescunt*; *Ann.* 94 V avium, *praepetibus sese pulchrisque locis dant.* Virgil on the contrary spares his reader any hesitation over the scansion of the word by placing *abiete* (and *ariete*) invariably in the dactylic fifth foot.

600 f. The woodland in which Silvanus protects the flocks is naturally dedicated to him. As a rural god he had no organised state worship in the *urbs Roma* itself, but there is no evidence of a fixed festival in the country-side either. Virgil is probably following the common identification of Silvanus with Faunus, whose country festival at Mandela on the Nones (5th) of December is fully described by Horace *Odes* 3.18: hence *diemque* 601.

Silvanus would be at home near Caere: he has an Etruscan equivalent Selva(ns) (see Pallottino 165, and Lily Ross Taylor, *Local Cults in Etruria* (Rome, 1923), 123 f.).

600 **Pelasgos**: ancient and modern speculation about the ethnic origins of the Pelasgi is confused and inconclusive. Elsewhere in the *Aeneid* (1.624, 2.83, 106, 152, 6.503, 9.154) the word invariably means 'Greek', as it probably does here (see the note on 328; *primi* in 602 is not to be taken = 'first in succession'). For Virgil they were pre-Etruscan settlers (Servius *auctus* on this line quotes a tradition which actually identified them with the Etruscans, to whom, however, Virgil (*A.* 8.478 ff.) gives a Lydian, non-Greek, origin). See also Saunders 46 ff., Rehm 63 f., Scullard 35 ff.

602 **primi**: 'in the earliest times'; it is most unlikely that Virgil wished to suggest that the Pelasgian settlement was prior to that of the immigrants mentioned in 328 ff.

aliquando here = 'once long ago' (contrast 200); like *olim* it basically means 'at some time other than the present' and so can refer to either past or future.

603 f. **tuta...castra locis**: apparently = 'their camp protected by the terrain', *tutus* being the past participle of *tu(e)o(r)*, 'to look at, to look after'; the construction is the same as *secretum flumine* 610. But how can a camp which is pitched in broad fields and dominated by a nearby hill (604 f.) be said to be so protected? Servius saw the difficulty and envisaged a plateau surrounded by hills. Mackail, less probably, suggested that *tuta* = 'guarded' (by patrols), and that *haud-procul-hinc* is a qualifying phrase with *locis* equivalent in sense to *propinquis*.

603 Note the alliteration of *t* in this line, and of *c* and *l* in the next, forming a background sound-pattern which does not reinforce the sense.

605 **tendebat**: 'was under canvas'; used absolutely the verb is a military term = 'to pitch *tent*' (itself derived from the past participle).

606 f. The Trojans and Arcadians presumably encamp for the night, so the following apparition of Venus (symbolised in the Evening Star?) occurs at night(fall) like most supernatural visions in the *Aeneid.*

Aeneas' forces now disappear from the narrative and do not reappear until *A.* 10.146: the whole of *A.* 9 is taken up with an account of Turnus' attack on the Trojan camp by the Tiber of which Ascanius was in command; and *A.* 10.1-117 with the debates of the gods which end with Jupiter's oath not to interfere with the natural course of events, and *A.* 10.118-45 with an account of interim fighting at the Trojan camp. The crucial moment when Aeneas is actually accepted as the Etruscan leader is delayed: perhaps an intentional case of dramatic suspense otherwise rare in Virgil.

608-625 *Venus appears and encourages Aeneas with the gift of arms. He is lost in wonder at the helmet, sword, breastplate, greaves, spear and shield.*

608 **inter**: for the position of *inter*, and the word-symmetry of the whole line, see the note on 32.

610 **egelido**: *nimium gelido...ut eduramque pirum* (*G.* 4.145), *id est, valde duram*, Servius. This must certainly be right (the same stream was referred to as *gelidum* 'cold' in 597) and is very surprising. Catullus seems to have been the first to use the word (46.1 *iam ver egelidos refert tepores*), to mean 'with the chill taken out', as one might expect from the usual privative sense of *e-* (*elinguis, edentulus*, etc.). Virgil reverses the meaning of the word, giving *e-* a very rare intensive force (perhaps suggested by verbal compounds like *emori, emunio* or by Greek intensive ἀ-). Manilius (5.131) later uses the word to mean 'intensely cold'; Ausonius applies it to both the Moselle (*Epp.* 20.4) and the Danube (*Caes.* 21.1), apparently with the same meaning.

The variant *et gelido* has formidable MS authority, but *egelido* was the only reading known to Servius and is backed by the indisputable *eduram* at *G.* 4.145.

secretum (after *reducta*): Aeneas is alone and solitary, ready for communion with the supernatural, like Moses (*Exodus* 19) and Odysseus (*Od.* 12.335 ff.). Achilles, however, was with his companions at the presentation of the arms (*Il.* 19.3 ff.).

secretum is best taken as a participle, with *flumine* abl. of instrument: 'cut off by the river'.

611 This line is noted by Servius as a case of ὕστερον πρότερον (Venus presumably 'presented herself' *before* she spoke); he might have added 615 f. below, where Virgil's order suggests that the goddess embraced her son before depositing the arms. Instances of this mannerism with two *clauses* (see the note on 201 for nouns) are bold: they are a natural development of Virgil's paratactic manner, and usually he assembles the 'theme and variation(s)' in chronological order: when he does not, other considerations (relative emphasis especially) were more important than time-sequence, as at *A.* 2.353 *moriamur et in media arma ruamus* (see Austin's note). So here, the fact that the goddess spoke is unimportant compared with her appearance in person (*ultro*). See further A. S. McDevitt in *CQ* N.S. 17 (1967), 316-21.

612 f. **en...munera**: the exclamatory particle *en* can be followed by either a nominative or an accusative of exclamation, cf. *E*. 5.65 *en quattuor aras*, *A*. 7.452 *en ego victa situ*; alternation was possible because *en* was not felt to have any close syntactical relation with the noun. See *KS* 1, 272 ff. for examples, but ignore the explanation given there.

613 **ne...**: syntactically this clause could be either independent (a negative jussive) or dependent (a negative final clause); in speech the difference would be made clear by emphasis and tone of voice. It is certainly more lively and dramatic to take the clause as independent, with a heavy pause after the first foot dactyl *munera*.

614 **poscere** here = *provocare*, 'to challenge'; with *Turnum* as object it hints at the duel of *A*. 12.

616 Note the word-symmetry, approximating to that of a golden line; see Appendix, p. 199.

617 **donis**, 'theme': **honore** (= *munere*), 'variation'.

618 **oculos** belongs ἀπὸ κοινοῦ to both *expleri* and *volvit*; see the note on 265 for the construction *expleri nequit oculos*.

619 f. Modelled, as Macrobius 5.8.11 f. points out, after Homer, *Il*. 19.18 τέρπετο δ' ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχων θεοῦ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα.

619 **versat**, 'keeps turning over', of fascinated inspection also at *A*. 5.408.

620 f. **vomentem...rigentem**: disyllabic rhymes at the end of two consecutive lines are not so very rare in Virgil (in this book cf. 646 f. *iubebat...premebat*). Deliberate rhyming is native to Latin popular verse, from proverbs and charms against gout to Christian hymns. Virgil, unlike Milton in *Paradise Lost*, obviously did not avoid 'the jingling sound of like endings' as a matter of policy; on the other hand, he does not intentionally admit them to echo their popular overtones, and they cannot be said to occur more often than they would by accident. Rhyme also occurs between present participles which 'frame' a line: 669 *pendentem...trementem*; and cf. 63 *stringentem...secantem*, 712 *pandentemque...vocantem*. See further Austin on *A*. 4.55.

vomentem is probably right against the variant *minantem*, cf. 680 f.; translate 'spurting' (Virgil clearly did not regard it as a *sordidum vocabulum*). 'Spurting flames' may refer to the colour and gleam of the metal (cf. *Il*. 5.4 f.), but the 'theme and variation' shape of the line strongly suggests a reference to the shape and colour of the plumes themselves (see the note on 680 f.).

621 'and the death-dealing sword, and the stiff breastplate of bronze'; for *rigentem* cf. *A*. 5.404 f. *tantorum ingentia septem / terga boum plumbo insuto ferroque rigebant*, and *A*. 11.72 f. *tum geminas vestis auroque ostroque rigentis / extulit Aeneas*. It is unclear whether Virgil visualised the breastplate as of solid bronze or of bronze plates threaded together with wire; see F. H. Sandbach, *PVS* 5 (1965-6), 31 f.

621 According to Virgil (*A*. 12.90 f.) Vulcan had also made an invincible sword for Daunus which had come into the possession of his son Turnus: this is one sign of an attempt to build up the native hero as a significant

opponent of Aeneas; another is Virgil's choice for the mother of Turnus of Venilia, a deity of extreme obscurity, whose very name however contrasted her with her opposite number Venus.

622 f. Achilles' breastplate receives only a short, almost perfunctory, description, *Il.* 18.610 (Hephaestus) *τεῦξ' ἄρα οἱ θώρηκα φαεινότερον πυρὸς αὐγῆς*. The simile here owes much more to Apollonius' colourful description of the golden fleece, *Arg.* 4.125 f.: (*κῶας*)...*νεφέλῃ ἐναλίγκιον, ἥτ' ἀνιόντος / ἠελίου φλογερῇσιν ἐρεύθεται ἀκτίνεσσιν*. Aeneas' breastplate of bronze, which can reflect a number of quite different colours, has a cloudy blue-grey ground shot through with blood-red glints.

624 **recocto**: *saepe purgato* (Servius), 'highly refined'.

625 **clipei non enarrabile textum**: 'the indescribable fabric of the shield', whose material composition defied analysis; but there is more than a hint at the 'indescribability' of the pictures on the surface, a warning that the description of them is not to be pressed for pictorial completeness.

The decoration on the shield is in one sense a supreme culmination of the tradition of heraldic emblems: Helenor, *parma inglorius alba* (*A.* 9.548), had not yet won his spurs and so had no device; the proven heroes of Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* choose monster-totems or propaganda-symbols for their emblems; Aeneas' personal emblem is to be a vision of history, totally surpassing any of the traditional categories of device (analysed for Greek life and literature by G. H. Chase, *HSCPh* 13 (1902), 61 ff.).

626-666 *On the shield Vulcan had fashioned scenes from Roman history: the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus; the rape of the Sabines and the war between Romulus and Titus Tatius, concluded by a peace-treaty; Tullus Hostilius' punishment of the treachery of Mettus Fufetius; Porsena's siege of Rome after the expulsion of Tarquin, and the heroism of Horatius Cocles and Cloelia; Manlius' defence of the Capitol against the night-attack of the Gauls; the Salii and Luperci.*

627 'in full awareness of the predictions of prophets and knowledge of the age to come': the theme is made clear by the variation: Vulcan knew the truth of the *responsa* given by the mouthpieces of the gods, and their details of Rome's future history; for the implication of truth in prophecies cf. *A.* 6.798 f. *huius in adventum iam nunc et Caspia regna / responsis horrent divum.*

Damsté's conjecture *haud avium ignarus* (*Mnem.* N.S. 38 (1910), 52) implausibly makes Vulcan into a skilled *auspex* like Asilas (*A.* 10.175 ff.).

630 ff. The *idea* of the Shield of Aeneas unquestionably derives from Homer's Shield of Achilles, but the subject-matter of the two has no detectable connection. Virgil's subject-matter falls into four main sections:

(1) 630-66: *early* Roman history down to the Gallic invasion, with an unexpected addendum on religious institutions, 663 ff.;

(2) *hinc procul*, 666-70, Cato and Catiline, saint and devil of the late Republic;

(3) 671-713, the sea and *Actia bella*;

(4) 714-28, the triumphs and *ex voto* dedications of Augustus.

Critics have been much exercised to discover what principle(s) Virgil was following in selecting the material (particularly of section (1)). Heyne looked for a *certum iudicium*, failed to find it, and blamed Virgil (Excursus IV to *A*. 8). Warde Fowler (*ASR* 103 ff.) thought there was one unifying theme, that of escape from moments of great peril which threatened the *nomen Romanum* with extinction. Brooks Otis (341) also sees one main theme, 'the constant opposition of *virtus*, *consilium* and *pietas* to the forces of violence in all Roman history'. D. L. Drew (*The Allegory of the Aeneid* (Oxford, 1927), 26-31) had suggested that the material falls into four groups, each illustrating one of the cardinal virtues of Augustan Rome, *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, and *pietas*, the qualities specified on the gold shield granted by senate and people to Augustus in 27 B.C. (*Res Gestae* 34). With goodwill each of these schemes can be made to fit the *bulk* of the material, but in each case there is some inexplicable residue: this is well demonstrated by D. E. Eichholz (*PVS* 6 (1966-7), 45 ff.), whose own solution, however, that coherence derives from the dynamism of the narrative, is unconvincing. The view that the episodes were chosen because of their visual suitability as pictures, and were primarily inspired by particular statue groups which Virgil had seen in Rome, can also be dismissed: some details simply cannot be 'envisaged' (see the note on 634).

The subject-matter is announced as *res Italas Romanorumque triumphos*. This had already been treated in poetry; every Roman knew by whom, and none had read it with deeper admiration than Virgil. Servius (on *A*. 8.631) remarks *sane totus hic locus Ennianus est*. Uncertainties about the *Annales* themselves make it impossible to say positively that the Shield is Virgil's most sustained tribute to Ennius in the *Aeneid*, but such evidence as there is strongly suggests it. Section (1) contains obvious similarities of subject-matter with the fragments of the *Annales*. The She-Wolf and the Twins (630 ff.) recall *Ann*. 68 ff. V; the punishment of Mettus Fufetius (642 ff.) recalls *Ann*. 126 and 137-9 V (plausibly connected with each other by Warmington); the Gallic attack on the Capitol (655 ff.) strongly recalls *Ann*. 164 f. V. So far Virgil, like Ennius, has followed chronological order. The episodes chosen are those which stirred his imagination without producing a close repetition of material used for the Show of Heroes in *A*. 6.756 ff.: hence there is no mention in the Shield of the Alban kings, Numa, Camillus, Cato the Censor or Hannibal (who lurks behind *A*. 6.842 f. *geminos, duo fulmina belli, / Scipiadas, cladem Libyae*).

Chronology too is the key to the puzzlingly abrupt transition to primitive religious institutions whose origins were lost in the mists of time (663 ff.). The passage recalls Ennius' reference to the institutions of Numa, *Ann*. 120 ff. V: both passages mention *ancilia*, and Virgil's *lanigeros apices* is an intelligible equivalent of Ennius' *tutulatos*, 'conical-capped'. But the hero of the crisis which followed the Gallic withdrawal from Rome was not

of course Numa, but M. Furius Camillus, *diligentissimus religionum cultor* (Livy 5.50.1) and the clue to the presence of the Salii here is in the last words which Livy puts into his mouth (5.54.7): *hic* (sc. *in Capitolio*) *Vestae ignes, hic ancilia caelo demissa, hic omnes propitii manentibus vobis di.* The whole stress of Camillus' speech, urging the Romans not to transplant themselves to Veii in despair at the devastation caused by the Gauls, is on the sanctity and protective power of the gods and the *sacra publica*. After describing the peril of the Gauls' invasion, Virgil thinks of the *religio* and *pietas* which, after their withdrawal, had kept Rome a living city; so he reflected, with Camillus (Livy 5.52.6 f.) *ne omnia generatim sacra omnesque percenseam deos...quid de ancilibus vestris, Mars Gradive?* After the Salii the priestly college of the Luperci naturally suggested itself as a companion. The matrons in religious procession, riding in two-wheeled carriages, are mentioned next, because it was they who had raised the gold to ransom Rome from the Gauls, and for this were honoured by the privilege of riding in carriages (this tradition, represented by Diodorus 14.116, is clearly what Virgil had in mind, and in this matter he is not following the same source as Livy (5.25.9), who says that this honour was conferred on matrons after they had contributed their gold to the building of the temple of Apollo, an *ex voto* duty of Camillus after the capture of Veii. How Ennius treated the topic we shall unfortunately never know). Servius' contribution to the Salii-problem is the remark *congrue sacerdotes statim post templa commemorat*: superficial and tangential, but a more direct lead to the solution than any of the speculations of modern criticism.

For further discussion of the Salii-scene and its bearing on the relationship of Livy's first pentad with *Aeneid* 8 see P. T. Eden, *RhM* 116 (1973), 78 ff.

Section (2) contains the well-contrasted pair Catiline and Cato Uticensis. Which suggested itself to Virgil first? Ennius had paid a glowing tribute to the man who first recognised his talent, Cato the Censor: *in caelum huius* (Cato the Younger) *proavus Cato tollitur: magnus honos populi Romani rebus adiungitur*, Cic. *Arch.* 22 (see Vahlen pp. iv, xii).

Sections (3) and (4), the victory and triumphs of Augustus, are the centre of attraction of the Shield pictorially, and the culmination and end of the narrative. There is good evidence (Pliny *N.H.* 7.(28).101) for believing that Ennius originally ended the *Annales* (Book 15) with the victory and triumph of *his* patron, M. Fulvius Nobilior, over the Aetolians at Ambracia (not very far from the promontory of Actium): *victoriam per se magnificam Q. Ennius amicus eius insigni laude celebravit* (Aurelius Victor, *De Vir. Illustr.* 52).

Virgil did not, of course, need Ennian precedent to describe Actium, nor could an unselective reading of the *Annales* have predisposed him to highlight Roman virtues in action at or near the city itself in periods of crisis, as he does. But both in particular detail and in general structure the Shield as narrative has more points of contact with the fragmentary *Annales* than it has as description with any single surviving work of Greco-Roman art.

630 f. **fecerat...procubuisse**: literally, 'he had fashioned the she-wolf as having lain down'; after verbs of 'representing' somebody or something in art or literature, *facere, fingere, inducere*, an infinitive or participle can be used with no appreciable difference of meaning (exactly as with verbs of perception, cf. 92 f.); compare Cic. *T.D.* 5.115 *Polyphemum Homerus...cum ariete etiam* colloquentem facit, with Cic. *Nat. Deorum* 3.41 *quem tamen Homerus* conveniri *apud inferos* facit *ab Ulixe*; for pictorial representation cf. Claudian *De Raptu Pros.* 2.44 f. *Hic Hyperionio Solem de semine* nasci / fecerat (sc. Prosperpina, in embroidering her dress). Elsewhere in the description of the Shield Virgil uses present participles (669 f., 711 ff.); at 710 ff. a present infinitive alternating with present participles. The time-reference of *procubuisse* here in contrast with the following infinitives *ludere...lambere*, etc., should be noted: the she-wolf is represented as having lain down already with the twins playing around her.

addiderat (637) and *addit* (666) continue the sense and so naturally the construction of *fecerat*.

See further Ernout-Thomas 283; Anton Szantyr, 'Bemerkungen zum Aufbau der Vergilischen Ekphrasis', *MH* 27 (1970), 28 ff.

630 f. **fetam...lupam**: *fetus* = 'with young' which may or may not have been delivered, according to the context; Columella (7.3.26) draws a distinction between (*oves*) *agiles et fetae* and *tardiores et gravidae*.

630 **Mavortis in antro**: no doubt the Lupercal which became associated with the legend of the *lupa*, called 'the cave of Mars' because Ilia had borne Romulus and Remus to him (as Jupiter predicted *A.* 1.273 ff.). Virgil clearly felt at liberty to allude to this version of how the Lupercal got its name, in spite of his earlier statement of the alternative version at *A.* 8.344.

631 **ubera circum**: another simple case of anastrophe: see the note on 32 *inter*. It is on this line that Servius remarks 'to be sure, all this passage is Ennian', a remark which presumably applies directly to the She-Wolf and Twins; for the wider implications which it suggests, see above, 630 ff. In the very fragmentary state of *Annales* 1, one can detect only one similarity with 630 f., and that of very expected words: 68 V *lupus femina feta repente*.

632 R. Rau, *MH* 22 (1965), 237 f., wishes to delete this line as an interpolation on the grounds that: (1) *pendentis* only makes sense if the she-wolf is standing upright, whereas in fact she had lain down (631) (captious precision: the meaning of *pendere* is not restricted to a vertical plane); (2) *matrem* is the subject of *lambere* and this idea is then needlessly repeated in 634 *corpora fingere lingua* (this is simply perverse: *pueros* is the subject of *lambere* = virtually 'suck').

Rau is refuted in detail by J. Delz, *MH* 23 (1966), 224 ff., who adds that Virgil's *recumbent* she-wolf is at variance with the *standing* she-wolf of plastic art—not surprisingly, for Virgil was working from literary sources: cf. Fabius Pictor mediated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.79.6 f., especially ὡς δὲ κἀκεῖνοι πλησίον ἐλθόντες ἔμαθον τὴν μὲν ὥσπερ τέκνα περιέ-

πουσαν, τὰ δ' ὡς μητρὸς ἐξεχόμενα (= *pendentes*), δαιμόνιόν τι χρῆμα ὁρᾶν ὑπολαβόντες κτλ.

633 **tereti cervice reflexa(m)**: this has generally been thought to be an echo of *tereti cervice reposta*, Mars 'pillowing his shapely neck' on Venus' lap, at Lucretius 1.35, where Bailey comments 'Virgil loves to imitate Lucretius in a slightly less dignified context', of which there is very little evidence. Virgil may have taken his phrase directly from Cicero's description of the constellation Draco in his translation of Aratus (cited in *Nat. Deorum* 2.107), *obstipum caput, a*(*t*) *tereti cervice reflexum, / obtutum in cauda maioris figere dicas*. In spite of apparently strong MS authority for *reflexa*, the variant *reflexam*, preferred by Heyne and Sabbadini, is supported by Cicero's phrase, and by the unVirgilian succession of three words in agreement in the alternative. And MSS written in capitals (like the primary MSS of Virgil) commonly represent an *M* at the end of the line merely by a nasal suspension (a short horizontal line), very easily overlooked by a scribe at an earlier stage of the transmission. *A*. 10.535 f. and 11.622 give no support to *reflexa* here.

634 **mulcere alternos**: 'was stroking each in turn'—very difficult to represent pictorially, and an indication that Virgil was not at pains to describe the shield as a material object. *rubescunt* 695 and *iam iamque* 708 are also difficult to visualise in terms of static art.

634 **corpora fingere lingua**: Conington compares Virgil's remark about himself licking his verses into shape, like a mother-bear her cubs (*lambendo*...*conformaret et fingeret*, Aulus Gellius *N.A*. 17.10.3).

635 **sine more**: 'lawlessly', cf. Ovid *A.A*. 1.119 *sic illae* (*Sabinae*) *timuere viros sine more* (v.l. *sine lege*) *ruentes*.

636 **consessu caveae**: 'from the seated audience', cf. Lucretius 4.78 *consessum caveai subter* and *A*. 5.340 *caveae consessum*.

636 **magnis circensibus actis**: 'during the performance of the great circus-games'. In origin the perfect passive participle was not exclusively 'perfect' with a past time-reference (nor exclusively passive). Classical prose uses the participles in *-tus*, *-sus* of many *deponent* verbs with a *present* time-reference, e.g. Caesar *B.G*. 2.7.1 *isdem ducibus usus*...*Numidas*... *subsidio*...*mittit*; this was of course available to Augustan poetry (e.g. *G*. 1.293 *solata*), which extended it to participles with a reflexive sense like *vectus*, 'travelling' (*A*. 1.121, *G*. 1.206), and even further, as here, to participles of strictly transitive verbs; and post-Augustan prose welcomed the new substitute for Latin's lack of a present participle passive (classical prose through its love of precision had had to use a cumbersome subordinate clause), cf., for example, Livy 23.1.6 *prae se* actam *praedam*... *ostentantes*, 'showing off the booty *being driven* in front of them'. See further Woodcock 81 f.

636 **magnis circensibus actis**: it was common tradition that the Sabine women were seized when they were watching horse-racing. In historical times the chief festival including this was the *ludi magni* or *Romani*, possibly referred to here, thought to have been instituted by Tarquinius Priscus (Livy 1.35.9), and celebrated with circus games on

15-18 September (and on the 19th after Caesar's death). They followed and were intimately connected with the celebration of the dedication-day (13 September) of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol, also founded by the Tarquins. This may have led to the view that the games instituted by Romulus, and designed for the rape of the Sabine women, must be some other: Livy (1.9.6) and Servius here name the Consualia, whose dates (21 August and 15 December) do not coincide with those of the *ludi magni*, and the reasons for whose choice are discussed by Ogilvie on Livy 1.9.

It is best therefore to disengage Virgil's reference from any specific festival and to read *circensibus* (without a capital) with Ribbeck and Sabbadini.

638 **Romulidis**: coined, like *Aeneades*, by Lucretius, in the 'epic' line (4.683) *Romulidarum arcis servator candidus anser.*

638 **Curibusque severis**: Cures, a short distance from the east bank of the Tiber above Rome, was the chief settlement of the Sabines; here, as at Ovid *Fasti* 3.201, 6.216, *Cures* refers to the inhabitants (strictly called *Curenses*). Ancient etymologists believed that the name was derived from *curis* the Sabine for 'spear', and was in turn the origin of *Quirites* (so that the official title *populus Romanus Quiritium* reflected the synoecism of the two settlements). Ethnically the Sabines *may* have been connected with northern tribes; they were a byword for virtuous simplicity and strictness (*severi*) (which was no doubt why Cato (quoted by Servius on this line) thought they were of Spartan origin). Their king Titus Tatius is a very obscure figure. Numa Pompilius also came from Cures, *A*. 6.810 f.

639 **posito** for *composito* (as Servius) rather than *deposito*; see the note on 329.

640 **Iovis ante aram**: the altar of the temple of Jupiter Stator, 'the Stayer' of battle, at the east end of the *forum Romanum* near the old entrance-gate to the Palatine. There may have been an ancient shrine on the site before then, which suggested the story that Romulus himself had vowed the temple when his men were being routed by the Sabines (Livy 1.12.6; Ovid *Fasti* 6.793); but the historical temple (whose remains are pictured in Nash 2.534) was vowed in 296 B.C. by M. Atilius Regulus and erected soon after.

641 **caesa iungebant foedera porca**: treaties were accompanied by a ceremony conducted by the *fetiales* who slaughtered a pig to symbolise the fate of the party which broke the treaty; cf. Livy 1.24.8 (although hardly the authentic old formula) '*si prior defexit publico consilio dolo malo, tum illo die Iuppiter populum Romanum sic ferito ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam; tantoque magis ferito quanto magis potes pollesque.*' *id ubi dixit* (sc. *fetialis*) *porcum saxo silice percussit.* Virgil, unlike Livy, specifically refers to a *female* pig. Servius here, amongst other unconvincing explanations, suggests that a female was more efficacious in sacrifice; Quintilian (8.3.19) that the female was more poetically elegant! Virgil is more likely to be remembering some antiquarian formula where the masculine form, which could be common in gender, was qualified by a

feminine adjective: cf. Festus (Lindsay, p. 286) *s.v. recto fronte*: *in commentariis sacrorum pontificalium frequenter est hic ovis et haec agnus, haec porcus, quae non ut vitia, sed ut antiquam consuetudinem testantia debemus accipere*; and cf. Ennius' *lupus femina* quoted on 631.

642-5. Mettus Fufetius, dictator of Alba, was pledged to support Tullus Hostilius king of Rome in the war against Fidenae. During the battle Mettus deserted the Romans and joined the enemy. Tullus saved the day by shouting to his troops, loud enough for the enemy to hear, that they were not to panic because Mettus had moved at his orders to attack the enemy rear. The Romans were victorious and Mettus was made to pay the penalty of treachery. Cf. Livy 1.27 f.

642 **citae** here has its participial value (from *ci(e)o*), = *citatae*, 'sped' as at Lucr. 1.997, Tibullus 1.5.3.

642 **Mettum**: Livy (1.27 f.) always uses the form *Mettius*: *quem autem dicit Vergilius Mettum Mettius Fufetius dictus est, quod nomen mutilavit causa metri* (Servius). But Mettus is an attested Latin form and at *Ann.* 126 V Ennius probably wrote *Mettoeoque Fufetioeo* (as F. Skutsch, *Kleine Schriften* 259, note 3) and so provided precedent for Virgil's *Mettum*, rather than *Metioeo Fufetioeo* (as Hermann) which would be the other way out of the metrical dilemma (*Metius*). See further W. Heraeus, *Kleine Schriften* 249 f.

642 f. should be taken as *quadrigae citae in diversa, Mettum distulerant*: cf. Livy 1.28.10 *in diversum iter equi concitati*. This and other similarities of phraseology in the accounts of this episode in Virgil here and in Livy (whose first pentad was completed by 27 B.C. (T. J. Luce, *TAPhA* 96 (1965), 209-40) and who is most unlikely to have revised details of phraseology through seeing or hearing the unpublished *Aeneid*), point in this instance to a common source, perhaps Ennius mediated by some early chronicler. In the extant fragments of the *Annales* (137 ff. V), Ennius seems to allude to Mettus' being dragged over a plain, and subsequently devoured by a vulture, adding *in propria persona*, '*Heu quam crudeli condebat membra sepulcro*'. Virgil and Livy know nothing of a vulture, but comparable with Virgil's outburst (643) is Livy's concluding remark (1.28.11) that this was the first and last punishment inflicted by Romans which was regardless of the laws of humanity: *in aliis gloriari licet nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas.*

643 **dictis...maneres**, cf. *A.* 2.160 *tu modo promissis maneas*; the ablative is difficult to classify, both instrumental and locative associations being involved. English says '*stand* by one's promises', and so sometimes does Latin, Cic. *Off.* 1.32 *illis promissis standum non esse.*

643 **Albane**: examples of apostrophe (an address by the narrator in person, as opposed to the natural vocatives in the mouths of speaking characters) in the *Aeneid* almost always arise from some intenser feeling in the context: here in an indignant and remonstrating aside, to justify what Virgil must have regarded as an appallingly savage punishment; at *A.* 6.30 f. *tu quoque magnam / partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes* in the pathos of a father's bereavement. But at 668 *Catilina* and

his entirely mythical punishment hardly justify the abruptness of the address, and the metrically convenient form of the vocative (especially at that position in the line) is an obvious factor in its choice; and at *A*. 7.685 *Amasene pater* is used chiefly to vary the formal list of a catalogue. The very beginnings of a mannerism are detectable in Virgil: he himself had apostrophised clover (admittedly in the *Georgics*, 1.215); Ovid hails sheep (*Met.* 13.927), dice (*A.A.* 3.354) and the Circus Maximus (*Fasti* 2.392), and Lucan finds it as easy to speak to something as about it. See further Austin on *A*. 4.27, R. D. Williams on *A*. 5.840; and for the special case of address in hymns and prayers the note on 84 f. *maxima Iuno*.

643 **maneres**: a past jussive subjunctive: the present *maneas*, 'you should remain' transposed into past time, 'you should have remained'. Its meaning is made quite clear by passages where it alternates as an equivalent with *debeo* and an infinitive: Livy 45.37.4 *Servius quidem Galba... non triumphum* impedire debuit...*sed*...*nomen* deferret *et legibus* interrogaret. In this example and in the present passage the imperfect subjunctive has its proper and original past time-reference; but by the time of classical prose the pluperfect subjunctive had established itself as the tense appropriate to convey past time (the same tendency was at work also in conditionals, where the prevalence of the pluperfect 'promoted' the imperfect to *present* time-reference), cf. Cic. *Verr.* 3.195 *quid* facere debuisti? ...rettulisses, ...solvisses; *frumentum*...ne emisses (note that the negative is *ne*: a clear indication of the jussive nature of the subjunctive). Virgil himself prefers the pluperfect: *A*. 4.604 ff., 678 f., 10.854; here of course *mansisses*, a molossus, could hardly have been fitted into a hexameter without being pointlessly cumbersome.

See further Woodcock 86 f.; Palmer, *LL* 310.

644 f. Note the preponderance of *v*, *r* and *s*, creating a feeling of unpleasant harshness which suits well with the sense.

646-51 After Tarquinius Superbus had been expelled from Rome by Brutus and Collatinus, because the latter's wife had been raped by his son Arruns, he fled to Lars Porsena of Clusium. With united Etruscan forces Porsena captured the Janiculum and tried to force a passage across the river by the *pons Sublicius*. Horatius Cocles, Titus Herminius and Spurius Lartius defended the bridge on the Etruscan side while the Romans chopped it down behind them; when it was almost down Horatius sent back Herminius and Lartius, and after it had fallen leapt into the Tiber and gained the opposite shore. Porsena pressed the siege but eventually, through the intervention of Mucius Scaevola, peace was made (a stage of the story omitted by Virgil). The Romans gave ten youths and ten girls as hostages for the peace; one of these was Cloelia, who escaped and swam across the Tiber—only to be sent back by the Romans. Porsena, amazed at both feminine courage and Roman good faith, allowed her to return home with the other girls. Cf. Livy 1.57-9, 2.9-15. Later authorities, Tacitus *Hist.* 3.72.1 and Pliny *N.H.* 34.(39).139, tell the unpatriotic truth: Porsena did actually capture Rome. He did not however restore Tarquinius, and he may not have intended to.

646 f. 'And Porsena was commanding the Romans to welcome the expelled Tarquinius': *Porsenna iubebat (Romanos) accipere Tarquinium.* The idiom which omits the object of *iubeo* when it can be easily supplied from the context (*urbem*) (see the note on 498) must be carefully noted when the infinitive itself has an object as here.

646 **Porsenna**: metre guarantees the spelling Porsena at Horace *Epodes* 16.4; Silius Italicus 8.389 and 478; 10.483 and 501; Martial 1.21.6; Porsina occurs as a Roman name at *CIL* 6.4².32919. Servius says that Virgil added another *n metri causa*, and he may have had no other justification; cf. the 'mutilation' of Mettius, above 642. But the variation may be due to an original Etruscan sound which was ambiguous to Latin-speakers.

iubebat: note the end-rhyme with *premebat* (647) (and *ruebant* 648): 'doubtless intentional' according to Conington, but see the note on 620 f.

648 **Aeneadae** is first attested in Lucretius, the first word of the *De Rerum Natura*; for coining such patronymics there was the precedent of Lucilius (see Munro's note on *Memmiadae*, Lucr. 1.26).

649 **illum** = *Porsennam*: Servius unaccountably takes it = *Coclitem.*

indignanti similem: for the turn of phrase cf. *A.* 5.254 *anhelanti similis*, which also emphasises the animation of a picture (Ganymede hunting, embroidered on a tunic).

The two-syllable rhyme in *-anti* before the strong caesura in the third foot and at the end of the line (for other examples see Austin on *A.* 4.260) makes it a true leonine—a term whose origin probably derives from the first animal, *Leo*, in the widely-read medieval poem *Physiologus sive De Bestiis* by Theobaldus, where this type of rhyme is common, e.g. in the opening line *Tres leo naturas et tres habet inde figuras.*

650 **aspiceres** like *videres* (676) and *credas* (691) is the indefinite second person singular of the potential subjunctive. Latin and English idiom are exactly alike in this use of the indefinite second person singular = 'you' without reference to any specific individual, where French uses 'on' and German 'man'.

650 f. **auderet quia... / ...innaret**: a causal clause with a subjunctive of virtual *oratio obliqua*. The subjunctives here do not cast doubt on the historic truth of the actions described, but stress that it was the thought of these actions that caused Porsena's indignant threats. See the note on 129 f.

For the postponed *quia* see the note on 22 *ubi.*

651 **fluvium...innaret**: (*in*)*nare*, 'to swim (in)' is most naturally construed with an ablative of place as at line 691 *pelago...innare.* The accusative here with *innare* (as also at *A.* 6.369 *flumina tanta paras Stygiamque innare paludem*; *G.* 2.451, 3.142) is hardly to be explained as due simply to the force of the preverb *in-*, 'into', because the idea of motion *into* the water is clearly not uppermost, if present at all; it has much closer affinities with the accusative after the simple verb *nare* (as at *G.* 3.260 *nocte natat caeca serus freta*), which is an accusative of space traversed, developing out of an internal accusative (*ire mille passus*

(accusative of extent) is a development, by substitution, of *ire viam* (internal accusative)). *fluvium*...*innaret* here is an attempt to produce an unusual variation on the standard expression of classical prose; the general tendency of the *spoken* language also was to standardise verbs as transitive and complements as accusative.

651 **vinclis**...**ruptis**: of the many accounts of Cloelia and her escape (see Ogilvie, *Livy 1-5*, 267), Virgil's alone makes any reference to *vincla*. Virgil's phrase is a poetic equivalent of Livy's *frustrata custodes* (2.13.6).

652 f., 655 ff. *The Gallic attack on the Capitol.*

After the disastrous defeat of the Romans by the Galli Senones led by Brennus on the banks of the Allia (18 July 390 B.C., a never-forgotten 'black day' of the Roman calendar), most of the citizens evacuated to Caere, but a small garrison was left on the Capitol under the command of M. Manlius. The Gauls certainly penetrated the city and may actually have gained possession of the Capitol after scaling it, according to tradition, by its steepest side, the *Arx Tarpeia*; but the widespread story, accepted by Virgil, that Manlius was warned by the cackling of geese, implies that it was not (*tenebant* 657 is conative). Manlius earned the *cognomen Capitolinus* for successfully repulsing the invaders.

Servius (on 655) knew of a silver image of *a* goose on the Capitol; Virgil's single *anser* is representative rather than collective.

652 **in summo**: at the top of the shield)(*in medio* 675.

652 **Tarpeiae**...**arcis**: the *Capitolium* proper (see the note on 306 ff.). Livy (1.11.5-9) and Servius on *A*. 8.347 tell the story of how Romulus, waging war against the Sabines (the *certamen* of 639), gave the defence of the Capitol to Tarpeius, whose daughter Tarpeia fell into enemy hands while on her way to fetch water. The Sabines asked her to betray the citadel, and she agreed, asking as her reward what they carried on their left arms, meaning their gold bracelets. But when, through her treachery, they had reached the citadel, they granted her request by taking from their left arms their shields, throwing them on her and crushing her to death. (Propertius 4.4 preferred the romantic alternative version of Tarpeia's motive—love for the Sabine general).

The story is another aetiological myth to explain the name *Tarpei-* which, like *Tarquiti-* and *Tarquini-*, was actually of Etruscan origin (*W s.v.*) and no doubt dated from the era of intensive Etruscan domination of the *arx Capitolii* and the building of the temple of *Iuppiter Capitolinus* by one or other of the Tarquins (if there were in fact two). Criminals convicted of particularly heinous offences, e.g. perjury (Aulus Gellius *N.A*. 20.1.53), were, in early times, hurled *e saxo Tarpeio*.

654 The mention of Romulus' 'palatial' hut, the *casa Romuli*, is an awkward interruption of the account of Manlius and the Gauls (652-62), and might more appropriately have been connected with the section on Romulus (630-41): this is the justification for transposing it (with Ribbeck, Mackail and others) to follow 641, although the position of the line in the final but *unrevised* draft of the *Aeneid* is probably faithfully reproduced (unanimously) by the MSS.

The *casa* was traditionally supposed to antedate the invasion of the Gauls by three centuries, but *recens* does not contradict this, since it need not and probably (see below) does not refer to the pristine condition of the *casa*. Nor does the fact that some authorities (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.79.11; Plutarch *Romulus* 20.4) located a *casa Romuli* on the south-west corner of the Palatine prove that there was not another on the Capitoline (as Vitruvius 2.1.5; Seneca *Contr.* 2.1.4). Both, presumably, were thatched huts kept in trim (*recens*) through religious veneration and restored in the same style whenever damaged (see Platner-Ashby *s.v.*). For an illustration of a straw-thatched hut of the 'pre-urban', i.e. pre-Etruscan, epoch on the Palatine—the *casa Romuli* was no doubt a maintained survival of one such—see Gjerstad 3, 52 f.; Nash 2, 164 f.; Scullard, Plates 1 and 3. These huts, whose general shape can be reconstructed from post-holes in the stone flooring and from the imitative shape of the hut-urns used to contain the ashes of the cremated dead, belonged to the Iron Age culture of Latium, essentially the same as the widespread Villanovan type (exemplified at Villanova near Bologna); they are datable to the eighth century B.C., in the middle of which traditional chronology placed the founding of Rome by Romulus.

654 **Romuleo...recens**: double hypallage, in the interests of word-symmetry, for *Romulea...recenti* (see the note on 542).

655 **auratis**: only the sense of the context decides whether it has its strict sense, 'gilded', or is merely = *aureus* whose oblique cases are only available to hexameter poetry by synizesis. The sense here will allow either, for although *auratis* and *argenteus* primarily refer to the metals used by Vulcan, the tiles of the actual Capitoline temple were 'gilded' at a later date (see the note on 348 ff.), and the statue of the goose on the Capitol was of silver, according to Servius.

656 **canebat**: not a euphemism for 'cackling', but = 'foretold', like a prophet or oracle.

657 **tenebant**, 'were reaching': awkward so soon after *tenebat* 653 = 'was occupying', but not so unVirgilian as to justify Wakefield's *tegebat* in 653. The difference of meaning reflects the difference between the conative and descriptive functions of the imperfect.

659 **vestis**: *hoc est barba*, Servius, who may have thought that *vestis* = 'clothing' was tautologous with *sagulis* in the next line, and that the appropriate contrast to *caesaries* could be extracted from *vestis* in the sense which it has in the *Late* Latin compounds *vesticeps* 'bearded' and *investis* 'beardless'. But the context here cannot impose any such metaphor on the word as it very clearly does at Lucr. 5.673 f. (*imperat aetas*)...*impubem molli pubescere veste / et pariter mollem malis demittere barbam* (for the metaphorical use of *vestire* in the same sense cf. *A.* 8.160). *virgatis lucent sagulis* is an elaboration, almost in parenthesis, of *vestis*, and was so understood by Silius Italicus 4.155 *auro virgatae vestes* (of the Celts).

For gold as the traditional material of Gallic chieftains' armour, cf. the account by the annalist Claudius Quadrigarius of the Gaul *armis auro praefulgentibus* defeated by Valerius Corvinus (Aulus Gellius *N.A.* 9.11.5).

660 **virgatis**: first apparently used here in the sense 'striped', from *virga* 'a stripe of a garment' (*purpureae*, Ovid *A.A.* 3.269).

660 **sagulis**: there are only three cases of true diminutives in the *Aeneid* (i.e. of words used in the diminutive form where contemporary idiom would use the root word with no significant change in meaning). The particular fitness of *parvulus* to its context of tenderness and pathos at *A.* 4.328 is well discussed in Austin's note; *palmula* at *A.* 5.163 (also in direct speech) occurs in a setting of bluff familiarity; *sagulis* here is more difficult to account for (the tiny cloaks of the tiny figures on the shield?).

Diminutives are a frequent feature of 'affective' colloquial speech: Horace had no reason to exclude them from his hexameter poems, and Lucretius did not; they became a darling mannerism of the neoterics, Catullus (see Fordyce on Catullus 3.18) and the Virgil of the *Eclogues*. But the mature Virgil banned them from epic, and his word was law: they are not discoverable in Lucan or Valerius Flaccus, and Silius Italicus shows his complete enslavement to Virgil by overworking two of the three to which Virgil had given his blessing (*sagulum* four times, *parvulus* twice), and using no others. See Axelson 38 ff., A. S. F. Gow, *CQ* 26 (1932), 130 ff.

660 f. **tum lactea colla / auro innectuntur**: i.e. with a *torques*, a twisted golden circlet; the *gens Manlia* acquired the cognomen *Torquatus* when T. Manlius (*A.* 6.825) took a *torques* from a gigantic Gaul he had killed in single combat.

661 **coruscant**: *coruscare* (etymologically connected with Greek κορύσσειν = 'to butt with the horns') comes to denote, transitively or intransitively, any light darting movement; here, 'they brandish'.

quisque strictly requires a singular verb, and *coruscat* is found in part of the MS tradition, but this may well be a correction ultimately due to a regularising scribe, for the idiom whereby *quisque* stands parenthetically in apposition to a plural subject, whether actually expressed or not, is very common: see *KS* 1, 22 ff. and 249 ff. Cf. *A.* 5.500 f. *incurvant... / pro se quisque viri*; *A.* 12.457 f. *densi cuneis se quisque coactis / adglomerant*; here the plural subject is made explicit by *protecti* 662.

662 **gaesa**: *gaesum* means a long heavy Gallic javelin: it had been used in connection with the Gauls by Caesar *B.G.* 3.4.1 (most Celtic loan-words in Latin refer to horse-drawn vehicles, *cisium*, *essedum*, *petorritum*, etc.). Virgil adopted it for epic as a *glossa*, a rare foreign word, of the kind which Aristotle (*Poetics* 1458a-1459a) had prescribed as particularly suitable for it (a rule based on the curious assumption that Homer wrote for posterity, and that the words which were bizarre or unintelligible to a contemporary of Aristotle must have been so to Homer himself and deliberately chosen for that reason). Just as Virgil had given epic cachet to the Punic words *mapalia* (*G.* 3.340) and *magalia* (*A.* 1.420, 4.259) in appropriate connection with Libyan shepherds and the suburbs of Carthage respectively, so here *gaesum* is used in a description of Gauls (and, in a passage closely modelled on Virgil, in a description of the Gallic chieftain Viridomarus, by Propertius 4.10.41 ff. ...*genus hic Rheno iactabat ab ipso, / mobilis e rectis fundere* gaesa *rotis. / illi ut* virgatis *iaculans it ab agmine*

bracis / torquis *ab incisa decidit unca gula*). It is later repeated without any such fittingness by Silius (2.444) in connection with an African, and by Statius in connection with Greeks (*Th.* 4.64) and Macedonians (*Ach.* 2.132). On *glossae* see Palmer, *LL* 97, 99, and note that Ennius had used native words for spears more than once: *Ann.* 390 V *rumpia* (the long Thracian spear), *Ann.* 504 V *sybinis* (the Illyrian hunting-spear).

662 **scutis protecti corpora longis**: 'protecting their bodies with long shields'; for the construction see the note on 29 *turbatus pectora.*

663 f. The Salii were an ancient ritual brotherhood of Dancing Priests (Salii from *salire*), who performed a vestigial war-dance (*tripudium*: which suggests that it had a three-beat rhythm and was quite different from a march). Dancing, beating their shields with staves or daggers, and singing the *carmen Saliare,* they went in procession through the city; originally their function seems to have included the purifying of the arms of the host before (March) and after (October) the campaigning season. At Rome they were organised into two colleges (see the note on 287) each of twelve members. Their extreme antiquity is attested by the social and religious taboos connected with them: they had to be of patrician birth and have both father and mother living; their armour was of bronze (a Bronze Age relic and so antedating their alleged institution by Numa); they carried figure-of-eight shields, *ancilia,* said to be copies of the *ancile* which dropped from heaven as a sign from Jupiter to Numa, who, warned that supreme power was conferred by it, had replicas made to baffle theft. They also wore the *trabea,* the blood-red war-dress. On their heads they wore bronze helmets, according to Plutarch *Numa* 13.4, recalling their origin as Bronze Age infantrymen. But according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.70.2 they wore *apices,* conical felt hats with a pointed piece of olive-wood at the top and a lock of wool attached to it. These were traditionally worn by the *flamines,* whose primary and primitive connection with sacrifice is unquestioned (the lock of wool, and perhaps the felt of the hat as well, will have come from sacrificed animals). The Salii had no such primary function, and if Dionysius is right, an incongruous innovation must have taken place. But there is no good reason (the following mention of *ancilia* is not one) for believing that Virgil is alluding to anything but the headgear of the *flamines,* the *flamen Dialis,* whom Augustus restored to prominence, in particular, but also perhaps the *flamen* of Mars, whose cult as Mars Ultor Augustus was also to promote. A denarius of 17 B.C. (*BMC Emp.* I, 14, No. 74) shows the head of Augustus on the obverse and two *ancilia* with an *apex* on the reverse: the coupling of two emblems, which had become as symbolic of the identity of the state as Vesta's fire itself, may have been inspired by Virgil's example.

663 The *Luperci* were patrician youths who, organised in two groups Luperci Fabiani and Quinctiales, celebrated a rite of extreme antiquity, attached in historical times to the festival of Faunus (Pan) on 15 February. Originally they ran in a circuit around the Palatine (Latte, *RRG* 84, n. 4), naked except for a loin-cloth, striking anyone they met with a strip of goat-skin (according to Servius on *A.* 8.343 this was anciently called *februum*

(hence February), apparently a generic term for any magical object which could ward off unwholesome influences (so Warde Fowler, *RE* 210)). The original purpose(s) of the ceremony can only be guessed at, and were probably unknown to Augustus when he restored it; his contemporary Ovid (*Fasti* 2.425 ff.) believed that it was intended to promote the fertility of women (the striking of men too could well have had the same object). Modern theories regard it as a purifying and apotropaic ceremony, directed against wolves and other menaces to the early pastoral community; or against werewolves reincarnating dead spirits. See further Ogilvie on Livy 1.5.1-2.

663 ff. The main reason for the inclusion of the Salii, Luperci and *matronae* at this point is explained in the note on 630 ff. Virgil's *associated* thought may have been concerned with the connection between the traditional founding of the rites and their contemporary revival: he associates Salii at the Ara Maxima with Evander (285 ff.), and Livy (1.5.1-2) ascribes the founding of the *sacrum Lupercale* to Evander; the latter was restored, together with other antique half-forgotten ceremonies, by Augustus (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 31.4: *nonnulla etiam ex antiquis caerimoniis paulatim abolita restituit, ut Salutis augurium, Diale flaminium, sacrum Lupercale, ludos saeculares et compitalicios*).

665 **extuderat**: 'had beaten out in relief'; the force of *ex-* can be pressed here, although usually the verb simply = 'to fashion' (*G.* 1.133, 4. 315).

666 *matronae* had long had the right to ride in two-wheeled carriages (*pilenta, carpenta*) on public occasions, so long that different authorities assigned its origin to different events: see the note on 630 ff. As Binder points out (202), the *castae matres* glance at the crystallising policy of Augustus which issued in the social legislation of 18 B.C., the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus*, and the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis*.

mollibus = *molliter stratis* (Servius *auctus*).

666-674 *The next scene is the Underworld, with Catiline being punished among the damned, and Cato giving laws to the righteous. Separating these and the preceding scenes from what follows is a broad band representing the sea, and dolphins swimming in it.*

667 Here and at *G.* 4.467 *Taenarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis, ostia* 'gateway' is in apposition: more fittingly with *fauces* 'entrance-gorge' than with *sedes* 'habitation'.

668 f. Catiline's punishment was no doubt inspired chiefly by a recollection of *A.* 6.601-7, where Virgil ascribes to Ixion and Pirithous the fate earlier associated with Tantalus, the double torture of an overhanging rock, likely at any moment to fall and crush them, and of being 'tantalised' by an aggressive Fury who keeps them away from a regal banquet. This and other traditional punishments of mythological malefactors are allocated in Virgil's Hell to human sinners, including those *qui...arma secuti / impia* (612 f.), like Catiline. There (614 f.) Virgil refused to be

pressed about the details of individual punishments, and here in *A.* 8 is merely outlining the situation which, given in full, would have been a tedious repetition of *A.* 6, and unbalanced the terse catalogue-entries of the pictures. Even so, *pendentem* is difficult to visualise as part of the Tantalean torture: Heyne thought it meant 'hanging fixed', like Prometheus, with the Furies instead of the vulture to torment him; Conington took it to mean 'just in the agony of falling' over a precipitous cliff (referring to the Tarpeian rock), over which the Furies were hounding him (Catiline would then have the punishment he might have expected in life—but the Tarpeian rock is not a landmark of any Underworld). Virgil may have remembered Lucretius 3.980 f. *nec miser impendens magnum timet aere saxum / Tantalus*, and transferred the notion of 'hanging' from the rock to the victim.

Catiline and Cato are to be regarded as historical personages as much as those before and after them on the Shield, not (*pace* Conington) as representative types. But the unsuitability of connecting them like the others with any particular historical event led Virgil to picture them differently and represent the judgment of history on their whole careers in terms of the rewards and punishments of the after-life.

The unrest of Cisalpine Gaul (Sallust *Cat.* 42) caused by Catiline's sedition was perhaps the first political event to impress itself on the boyhood of Virgil (about seven at the time). It was on Cato's motion that the Senate decreed the death-penalty for Catiline and his associates (Sallust *Cat.* 52 f.).

For the apostrophe, *Catilina* (voc.), see the note on 643 *Albane.*

669 Note the two participles 'framing' the line, and see the Appendix, p. 200.

670 **secretosque pios**: 'and the righteous in a place apart'; *secretos* = 'separated, sequestered' (see the note on *secretum* 610).

dantem iura: a Roman legal phrase: *iura* (*iudicia*) *dare* (*reddere*), used of a presiding magistrate (a praetor acting as judge) means 'to give a ruling' to a plaintiff: hence the broader sense, 'to legislate (by establishing a precedent)', as at, for example, *A.* 1.293. In Silver Latin *dare* came to be used absolutely = *decernere*, cf., for example, Pliny *Epp.* 7.6.9 *finem cognitioni quaestio imposuit, quae secundum reos dedit.*

Cato's own praetorship in 54 B.C. had been energetic and stringent in the pursuit of justice, particularly against miscreant senators; but his incorruptible rectitude in all directions made him suitable to judge the dead. Roman judicial language is similarly applied to Minos at *A.* 6.431 ff.

On this line Servius insists that the Cato referred to is Cato the Censor, not Cato the Younger *qui contra Caesarem bella suscepit*: he is certainly wrong, but may be forgiven for not understanding the dilemma which Cato and Caesar posed for the Augustan poets. Augustus was an autocrat, but he had taken elaborate care to conceal the fact behind a façade of constitutional republicanism. Cato, who had committed suicide in 46 B.C. rather than outlive the republican cause, had become the hero of unshaken

faith in constitutional government; he therefore qualified for a niche in the Augustan façade, and hence the encomium here and at Horace *Odes* 1.12.35 f. and 2.1.23 f.

Julius Caesar, conspicuously absent from the Shield, presented an even more difficult problem: the undisguised autocrat could not be reconciled with Augustus' public professions and deserved public condemnation; but Augustus, so far from condemning him (which would have been an act of gross personal *impietas*) had supported his deification. Silence was the usual answer to such a paradox.

Peerlkamp objected that Cato the suicide had no place among the *pii* and should have been put with the other suicides in the *Lugentes Campi* (*A*. 6.434 ff.). Thiel tried to rescue him for Elysium by classing him among the *ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi* (*A*. 6.660). But it is evident from the description of Catiline (above) that Virgil is not now working within the narrow prescriptions of *A*. 6; nor does he mean Cato to supersede the judges of the Underworld in any way.

671 **haec inter**: for the position of *inter* see the note on 32. But what does *haec* refer to? 'In Virgil's shield the attention of the Roman reader was to be absorbed by successive pictures of Roman history, and that reader would be the last man to inquire how they fitted in within the shield's rim; nor need we attempt that unnecessary task': so Warde Fowler (*ASR* 101) (and before him to the same effect Heyne (Excursus 4 on *A*. 8), and Heinze (*VeT* 394)). This is entirely right—as regards particulars; but Virgil gives enough hints to make the broad plan intelligible. From the She-Wolf (630) to Cato (670), two pictures are said to be near the preceding ones (635, 642), the rest can be assumed to be, except for the last (666) of Hades, which naturally has to be separated from pious matrons; of these Manlius holding the Capitol is at the top of the shield (652 *in summo*). *in medio* (675), as the centrepiece, is the victory and rout of Actium and Augustus' triumph in Rome. The sea and the dolphins here (671-4) are the only part which is pure ornament, and the only items which are derivative: on the Shield of Achilles (*Il*. 18.607 f.) the stream of Ocean runs round the outer rim, and there are dolphins on Hesiod's Shield of Heracles (209 ff.). It is plausible to suppose that Virgil too thought of his sea as a broad (*late* 671) circular band, on and around which a repeated motif of dolphins was swimming (*in orbem* 673, not gyrating in individual circles), not however on the rim of the shield but parallel to it, separating all the pictures mentioned before it from the centrepiece mentioned after it, in between the former (*haec inter*) and the rest.

672 **spumabat** (primary MSS) *caerula* (sc. *imago*), or *spumabant* (secondary MSS) *caerula* (*id est maria*, Servius); the second is preferred by some editors, but its superiority is not evident. Virgil has overloaded the line with colour: the emphasis in *caerula*, whether noun or adjective, is on dark-blueness. Keeping *spumabat*, translate: 'Separating these there ran in a broad band the likeness of the swelling sea in gold, but dark-blue where it foamed with white waves.' The fabric of the shield is indescribable (625), but a metallurgist might produce this effect with some combination

of the metals we are told were used: gold (*passim*), silver (673), bronze (675), and iron (701).

673 **argento clari delphines**: 'shining silver dolphins', *argento* being used with adjectival force (as Mackail observes, Appendix A, p. 513), and *argento clari* together recalls a Greek compound adjective. As at *A*. 2.765 *crateresque auro solidi* the ablative is partly one of material (with the noun *delphines*), partly one of means (or instrument) (with the adjective *clari*). The adjective certainly lends support to the phrase; a simple ablative of material would be extremely bold (for prose *ex* or *de* with the ablative).

674 **aestumque secabant**: 'and were cutting through the surge', 'breasting' it.

675-713 *The sea off Actium; Augustus with Agrippa confronts Antony with Cleopatra. The massive ships join battle, the gods of the East fight against those of Rome, and in the middle of the conflict rage the gods of war. Apollo routs the hordes of the East, and Cleopatra, with the hand of death already on her, flees to the Nile.*

675-728 There are evident similarities between some of the features of this passage and the proem to *Georgics* 3 (10-39) which ends with the promise (46 ff.) *mox tamen ardentis accingar dicere pugnas / Caesaris*. This has led some scholars (Nettleship and Warde Fowler) to believe that the connected section of the Shield was written about the same time as the Georgics passage and in fact formed part of the projected poem on Augustus' victories, from which it was transferred to its present place in *A*. 8.

675 ff. This passage left a deep impression on Propertius, who had read it before its publication: *me iuvet hesternis positum languere corollis, / quem tetigit iactu certus ad ossa deus; / Actia Vergilium custodis litora Phoebi, / Caesaris et fortis dicere posse ratis / . . . cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Grai! / nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade* (2.34B.59 ff.).

675 **in medio**: *utrum clipeo an mari?* (Servius): the former. The centre of the shield contains all the scenes that follow: there are four separate ones, (1) the actual conflict of the opposing fleets (675-703), (2) the rout and retreat of Cleopatra and her forces (704-13), (3) Augustus' triumphal return to Rome (714-9), (4) his review of captives and conquests (720-8). They are narrated in chronological order; how they were grouped pictorially we are not told. The portrayal of successive events in the life of *one* person in adjacent panels (as with (3) and (4) above) is common in medieval art, inherited from Roman practice.

aeratas: bronze is the material of the *pictured* ships; the actual ones at Actium could have had bronze rams and prows only.

676 **cernere erat**: 'it was possible to see'. *est* = 'it is possible' acquired this meaning (which was alien to it in Latin) under the influence of the quite normal Greek idiom (ἔξ)εστι; and the Greek infinitive could also quite easily be taken over because Latin verbs of 'being able' were regularly followed by an infinitive. Lucretius had previously used this construction, and so does Virgil elsewhere, *A*. 6.595 f. *nec non et Tityon . . . /*

cernere erat; *G.* 4.447 *scis, Proteu, scis ipse; neque est te fallere quicquam*; Augustan and later poets continued its use. It is not found in classical prose, and only rarely in post-classical prose. See further *LHSz* 2, 349.

677 **fervere...effulgere**: Virgil uses only the third conjugation (metrically more suitable) forms of the infinitives *fervĕre* (here and in four other places), *effervĕre* (*G.* 1.471, 4.556 only), *fulgĕre* (*A.* 6.826 only), *effulgĕre* (here only), but prefers the second conjugation forms of the indicative: *fervet, fulgent* (as at 684 below) and *effulgent* (*A.* 5.133). The third conjugation forms were the original ones, and Virgil derived them from earlier poetry (Lucretius has all the above infinitives except *effulgere*, and this compound is first attested in Virgil); they were losing ground to the second conjugation forms as early as Lucilius who protests against the trend (356 f. *fervere, ne longum. vero: hoc lectoribus tradam. / fervit aqua et fervet* (future), *fervit nunc, fervet ad annum*); Quintilian (1.6.7) brands them as archaic and incorrect: *si quis antiquos secutus* fervere *brevi media syllaba dicat, deprendatur vitiose loqui. stridĕre* had a similar history but Virgil seems to have kept to third conjugation forms (e.g. *stridunt A.* 8.420; there is however a variant *stridet* at *G.* 4.262). See *LHSz* 1, 322 and *N-W* 3^3, 267 ff.

fervere Leucaten here may be a conscious reminiscence of Lucr. 2.43a (Bailey) *fervere cum videas classem*; if so, there is a significant change of context: Virgil is glorifying the activity which Lucretius despised as no help to peace of mind.

677 **Leucate**, the modern Leukas, is an island to the south-east of the promontory of Actium, and this, with the promontory opposite, encloses the Ambracian Gulf to a narrow channel.

678 **hinc** and **hinc** (685) signal the protagonists, their aides are secondary (*parte alia* 682; *sequitur* 688).

678 **Augustus agens Italos**: Norden notes the view that at *A.* 6.792, Horace *Odes* 2.9.19 and in this line *Augustus* is still felt as an appellative, i.e. an adjective rather than a proper name. Warde Fowler, *ASR* 111, suggests that it should therefore be written with a small initial letter; the phrase is then exactly parallel to *arduus agmen agens* in 683 (for the idiom they represent see the note on 299); moreover, Virgil would have known that Octavian did not take the official title Augustus until 16 January 27 B.C., more than three years after the Battle of Actium, the dramatic date of this passage. All this is quite possible: Virgil will be using the technique of foreshadowing, in the narrative, the event which had already taken place, historically, as he did extensively in *A.* 6. But Warde Fowler's view that this line actually suggested to Octavian the adoption of the title Augustus is improbable: the delicate relations between Augustus' court poets and himself and his privy councillors hardly allowed anything so direct. The etymological connection of the name with *augur* and *augere* (*salutem populi Romani / imperium*) is emphasised by the Augustan poets.

hinc...Italos)(**hinc ope barbarica** 685: the contrast is between the amorphous Orient and a united Italy, not Rome alone. In 32 B.C. Octavian had held a national plebiscite: *iuravit in mea verba tota Italia sponte sua, et me belli quo vici ad Actium ducem depoposcit* (*R.G.* 25). This was the first

of many acts which encouraged a sense of national unity by stressing the political power of the whole peninsula, always dominated in the past by the capital city. More than one blue-blooded chauvinist must have had an unpleasant shock at hearing the army of the Senate and People of Rome described as 'Italians'. But Virgil's sympathy could hardly have been more sincere to any other aspect of Augustus' policies: he was himself a provincial, and Cisalpine Gaul had only received the franchise (from Julius Caesar) when Virgil was already twenty-one, eighteen years before the battle of Actium. The theme which was perhaps nearest the poet's heart, merely hinted at here, stated at 714 f. *Romana...moenia*)(*dis Italis*, finds its finest expression at *A*. 12.827 *sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago*, 'at once a prayer, a decree, and a benediction' (Mackail, Intro. 14). In the Actium elegy of Propertius (4.6) the idea is completely absent (cf. esp. 57, *vincit Roma fide Phoebi: dat femina poenas*).

agens...agens (683): the pictures of Augustus and Agrippa, like those of the ships in Masefield's *Cargoes*, contain no finite verbs.

679 A line of forceful dignity: note the alliteration (especially of *p* and *-bus*), the unusual rhythm with no strong caesura in either of the middle feet, and the Ennian ending (cf. *Ann.* 201 V *Dono, ducite, doque volentibus cum magnis dis*) which brings with it a fifth-foot spondee and a final monosyllable. Virgil had already used the second half of the line in *A*. 3.11 f. *feror exsul in altum / cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis*, spoken by Aeneas recounting his leaving of Troy. In both passages there is a situation of the utmost solemnity as the religious symbols (and so the very identity) of the state are exposed to grave danger. In this passage however Virgil is at pains to stress the legality and justice of Octavian's position: *he* is the leader of senate, people, gods and fatherland, and his victory will not be the disgraceful victory of a civil war, but the triumph of the Italian nation over a *foreign* enemy (hence the description of Antony's forces, 685 ff.). By the *coniuratio totius Italiae* Octavian had secured a kind of technical legality for his proceedings: he claimed (*R.G.* 25.3) to have had over 700 senators under his standards in 31 B.C. (when the total senatorial roll was about 1,000); how many personally took part in the battle at Actium is unknown.

679 **penatibus et magnis dis**: are the *penates* the same as the *magni di* or not? The learned Varro (cited by Servius on *A*. 3.12) knew that the statue of the *Penates publici populi Romani* (in the guise of the Dioscuri) in their temple on the Velia (restored by Augustus, *R.G.* 19) had on its base the inscription MAGNIS DIIS. (R. B. Lloyd, *AJPh* 77 (1956), 38 ff., suggests that this is the source of Virgil's phrase.) Originally the *penates* were characterless powers who guarded the *penus*, larder or storehouse. The requirements of plastic art, and Greek influence, caused them later to be identified with established deities, chiefly apparently with minor gods or demi-gods (heroes), cf. Hercules as *lar*, 542 ff.: this suggests that they are *contrasted* with the 'great gods' of the Roman state, who also fight for Rome at Actium (699). But Roman thought was itself confused on the subject, some antiquarians holding that the Penates must be Apollo and

Neptune, the gods who *built* Troy, *A.* 5.811 (see Macrobius 3.4.6). Bailey (*RV* 91 f.) believes that the two phrases are synonymous. The gods were literally present because their images were set up in the stern. Abas carries such an image of Apollo on his ship at *A.* 10.171, and Augustus on his at Actium, as apparently implied by Propertius 4.6.29. There could also have been images of Neptune, and of the Penates in whatever likeness.

680 f. **geminas cui tempora flammas / laeta vomunt patriumque aperitur vertice sidus**: Virgil's language is expertly chosen for intentional ambiguity. (1) On a purely literal level the lines balance the quite material description of Agrippa's headgear in 683 f. *flammas vomunt* probably refers to the shape and colour of the plumes: see the note on 620 f., and cf. the very similar phraseology of *A.* 10.270 f. *ardet apex capiti cristisque a vertice flamma / funditur et vastos umbo vomit aureus ignis*, where Aeneas is specifically compared with a comet—the same complex of associations as here. (The reference may be to the gleaming metal cheek-pieces of the helmet if Virgil is remembering *Il.* 5.4 δαῖέ οἱ ἐκ κόρυθός τε καὶ ἀσπίδος ἀκάματον πῦρ). According to Servius here, Augustus had a star shown on his helmet to symbolise the famous comet, *Iulium sidus*, which appeared when he was celebrating funeral games to honour Caesar, his adoptive father (*patrium*). (2) This comet was believed to be Caesar's soul being received into the company of the immortal gods, the last and supreme 'transformation' of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. This belief derived from the idea that a man's *genius*, his essential personality, could manifest itself as fire around the head (see Onians, *The Origins of European Thought*[2] 163 f.): notable examples of this actual phenomenon portending future greatness are the infant Servius Tullius (Livy 1.39.1), Ascanius (*A.* 2.682 ff.), and Lavinia (*A.* 7.73 ff.). So here, Augustus' *genius* is triumphantly aflame and sure to conquer Antony's: 'under him / My genius is rebuk'd, as it is said / Mark Antony's was by Caesar' (Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act 3, sc. 1). On the *Caesaris astrum* see further Weinstock 370 ff.

tempora therefore refers both to Augustus' own temples and to the plume-sockets of his helmet. Henry was the first to see the deeper meaning of the passage, but wrong to see that only.

The twin plumes of Augustus, Rome's second founder, seem deliberately to recall those of Romulus at *A.* 6.779.

681 **aperitur**: 'dawns'. *aperire* = *operta detegere* = 'to disclose'; cf. Livy 22.6.9 *cum...dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem*, and (of the planets) Cic. *Nat. Deorum* 2.51 *tum occultantur* (through proximity to the sun), *tum rursus aperiuntur* ('become visible').

682 An unusual amount of rhyme, -*(d)is*. There is an allusion to the storms which hampered Antony's fleet at the beginning of the battle; Agrippa's tactics were successful *ventis...secundis*.

683 **arduus agmen agens**: 'leading his column from a towering position'. For the Virgilian idiom which qualifies a participle with an adjective where English (and Latin too) would normally have an adverb or an adverbial phrase, see the note on 299 *arduus arma tenens*. In both of these places Page wished to punctuate with a comma after *arduus*, but

comparable instances of adjective and participle in close juxtaposition suggest that they are very intimately connected (at, for example, *A*. 3.69 f. *placataque venti / dant maria et* lenis crepitans *vocat Auster in altum*, it is impossible to separate them); cf. also *A*. 2.328 f. arduus *armatos mediis in moenibus* astans / *fundit equus.*

Note the *figura etymologica* in *agmen agens* (noun and verb both formed from the same stem *ag-*), the kind of word-play which had deep roots in Latin's love of alliteration.

683 **belli insigne superbum**: *insigne* is perhaps better taken in apposition with the whole of the following sentence than simply with *tempora*...*rostrata*: see the note on 487 *tormenti genus.*

684 **navali...corona**: according to Aulus Gellius *N.A.* 5.6.18 f. the 'naval crown', made of gold, was awarded to the armed man who first leapt on to an enemy ship in a naval battle. But the only known recipient of the honour before Agrippa was the antiquarian M. Varro, who was awarded it after the war against the pirates by Pompey the Great (Pliny *N.H.* 7.(30).115 and 16.(3).7 f.). Ironically, Agrippa received his for the victory over Pompey's son Sextus in 36 B.C. Agrippa appears with his on coins (see Daremberg-Saglio 1, 2, 1536 and fig. 2012).

Note the word-symmetry of the 'golden line'.

685 **ope barbarica**: a Roman reader could hardly have failed to be reminded of the famous passage of Ennius' *Andromacha Aechmalotis* (*Sc.* 92-6 V): *o pater, o patria! o Priami domus, / saeptum altisono cardine templum; / vidi ego te adstante(m) ope barbarica / tectis caelatis laqueatis / auro ebore instructam regifice.* Parts of this passage, which is cited enthusiastically by Cic. *T.D.* 3.44, had already been drawn on by Virgil twice in *A*. 2 (see Austin's notes on 241 and 499). *ope barbarica* = 'with the wealth of the orient'; cf. (perhaps also an imitation of Ennius), Milton *P.L.* 2.3 f. *Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand / Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold.* One should perhaps not press the undertone that associates the fall of Troy with Antony's doomed cause, although the fear of a resurgent Troy and the transference of the Roman capital to the East seems to have been a real one from the last years of Caesar's life onwards: Virgil may be insinuating a protest against such an idea; Horace explicitly forbids it (*Odes* 3.3, esp. 57 ff.).

variis...armis: Heinsius' ingenious conjecture *Phariis* seems to be based on a misunderstanding. After Augustus' helmet and Agrippa's crown one might have expected some item of Antony's personal equipment. In that case to give him multi-coloured arms, like the Etruscan Astyr of *A*. 10. 181 (*versicoloribus armis*) would have been ludicrous, whereas to make him wear *Egyptian* costume would have been a splendid, if untruthful, touch (although Florus 2.21.3 credits him with sumptuous Eastern dress, he presumably did not wear it on active service). But it is Antony's *forces* which are in question here (*variis armis* complements *ope barbarica*), and they were not all wearing Egyptian costume, as is evident from 723 (see the note there).

686 **victor**: in spite of the early successes of his lieutenants against

Parthia, Antony's own expedition in 36 B.C. had been disastrous: he had lost some 37 per cent of his total force, including 22,000 of his veteran legionaries (*CAH* 10, 75). The picturesque peoples that followed him to Actium were hardly more than a miscellaneous and undisciplined rabble. Virgil grossly exaggerates the number of his forces to make him appear a powerful opponent (Markland's *ductor* (on Statius *Silv.* 2.6.3) is an inept concession to history). It is unlikely that *victor* is an ironic sneer.

686 **litore rubro**: the *mare Rubrum*, Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα, included but was not confined to the modern Red Sea. The Greek-speaking merchant who wrote the *Periplus maris Erythraei* in the 1st century A.D., included in his account the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf, and even the Bay of Bengal.

688 **Bactra**: now a mere village, Balkh, in Afghan Turkestan, about twenty miles south of the river Oxus, was known to the classical world as middleman on the important trade-routes from central Asia and India, purveying exotic Eastern produce. *ultima* (687), 'at the end of the world', like *extremi* 727, must not be pressed.

nefas is best taken as a parenthetic exclamation (as also at *A.* 7.73, 10.673) because its feeling extends to each of the three words *sequitur Aegyptia coniunx*: that Antony should even consort with a foreign woman was bad enough, that he had actually married her was shocking (cf. Horace *Odes* 3.5.5 ff.), and that any woman, let alone 'yon ribaudred nag of Egypt', should accompany her husband on a military campaign, was deplorable. This *nefas* is the faintest echo of the vicious propaganda put out by both sides before Actium; Cleopatra was then called 'a sorceress...a worshipper of beast-gods, a queen of eunuchs as foul as herself, a drunkard and a harlot...a poisoner, a traitor and a coward' (*CAH* 10, 98). Propertius follows the party line (3.11.29 ff.); Horace (*Odes* 1.37) corrects it with a tribute to her noble bearing in defeat and death.

689 **ruere...spumare** are historic infinitives (see the note on 493 *confugere et...defendier*), perhaps best taken here as the equivalents of scene-setting imperfects, 'they were all rushing together...'.

Note the 'interweaving' of the word-order in this and the next line, and the mobility of the verse (see Appendix, p. 199)

690 The same line at *A.* 5.143. The *rostrum*, 'beak', was basically a beam projecting below the prow and above the water-line; this was usually carved into three points, one above the other, each capped with iron; looked at sideways it resembled a trident. The warships at Actium no doubt had three-pronged rams, but *three* prongs are an anachronism on Aeneas' own (Homeric) ships at *A.* 5.143 (see J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships 900-322 B.C.* (Cambridge, 1968), 7).

691 **pelago...innare**: see the note on 651 *fluvium...innaret.*

691 f. **revulsas Cycladas**: the ships are like floating islands. Virgil is thinking primarily not of the Symplegades, 'Clashing Rocks', at the entrance to the Black Sea, but of Delos, roughly central in the Cyclades, which according to legend floated until it was firmly fixed by Apollo; cf. *A.* 3.75 ff. and R. D. Williams' notes there. So here, Delos seems to have become unfixed again, bringing the whole group it dominated with it.

693 **tanta mole**: another ablatival phrase which is not firmly anchored to any part of the sentence. It is better to take it closely with the verb as an adverbial phrase (ablative of manner), 'with such great bulk', 'so massively' (see the note on 199 *magna...mole*), than to connect it closely with the subject *viri*, or with the adjective *turritis*. And the same analysis holds good for *A*. 12.161 f. *ingenti mole Latinus / quadriiugo vehitur curru*.

Translate the line: 'the crews press forward so massively in their turreted ships'. (Mackail's suggestion that *tanta-mole-turritis* is a compound epithet attached to *puppibus* is by no means impossible (see the note on 219 f.), but here the word-order is against it.)

turritis puppibus: the 'turreted ships' belonged to both sides, and Virgil's imaginative picture 691-3 is historically accurate. The widespread view that Actium was the victory of Octavian's light Liburnian 'cutters', which admittedly received most publicity, out-manoeuvering the massive and unwieldy ships of Antony is false and rests largely on a misunderstanding of Horace *Epodes* 1.1-4. See further C. G. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy*[2] (London, 1960), 7 f. Propertius 4.6.47 ff. is flattering exaggeration.

For warships and merchant-ships carrying turrets which could easily be erected and taken down, see C. Torr, *Ancient Ships* (Cambridge, 1895), 59 f.

694 'Flaxen flame and iron flying by means of shafts' is a typically Virgilian hendiadys for a single weapon, the *malleolus*, which was basically a bunch of esparto grass or flax, woven or tied together and smeared with pitch (Non. Marc. *s.v.* 556 M; Livy 42.64); this was fixed to a shaft, which could be thrown by hand, or from a bow (Amm. Marc. 23.4.14), or from a *ballista* (Vegetius *De Re Mil.* 4.18). The last is not precluded here by *manu*, which may simply = *vi*; see E. W. Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery* (Oxford, 1969), 172.

Austin on *A*. 2.236 notes that *stuppeus* is first found in Virgil, and frequently applied in later poetry to ships' cables.

695 **arva...Neptunia**: an obvious metaphor, made even easier by the application of *aequor* to both land and water; cf. *A*. 10.214 *campos salis*; Ennius *Ann.* 143 V has *(pont)i caerula prata* and Cicero *Arat.* 129 *Neptunia prata*, metaphors which may well have been inspired by Greek tragic diction (see Norden 309).

nova...caede, as at *A*. 10.515, = *caede recenti* (*A*. 8.195 f.), 'fresh slaughter'.

696 **patrio...sistro**: the *sistrum*, a kind of rattle, was used in the worship of Isis (see J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (University of Wales, 1970), 525 ff.), with whom Cleopatra identified herself. Virgil envisages its use as a battle signal: a contrast with the Roman *tuba* is made explicit in Propertius' imitation of this line (3.11.43) (*ausa*)...*Romanamque tubam crepitanti pellere sistro. patrio...sistro*, the symbol of an oriental ruler-cult, is contrasted with *patrium...sidus* (681), the symbol of the new Augustan ruler-cult.

697 **geminos...anguis**: (1) Henry rightly points out that for Virgil *twin* snakes are a recurrent symbol of disaster and death (*A*. 2.203 f., the

sea-serpents which kill Laocoon and his sons; *A*. 7.450, in the hair of Allecto who brings war and death; *A*. 8.289, threatening the life of the infant Hercules): the symbol has the same value here. It embodied a widespread belief that snakes were ill-omened and associated with death: they appeared from the earth, the abode of the dead, and so were identified with the spirits of the dead (cf. *A*. 5.84 ff. and 95 f.); twin snakes were represented on the wand of Hermes/Mercury as escort of the souls of the dead; to see a pair of snakes mating was considered particularly unlucky (see further Pease on Cic. *Div*. 1.36).

(2) The symbolism does not preclude an allusion also to the actual manner of Cleopatra's death. If there is such an allusion, this line is alone among ancient sources in numbering *two* snakes specifically. Horace *Odes* 1.37.26 f., Propertius 3.11.53 and Florus 2.21.11 (Loeb, ed. E. S. Forster) use the plural; the majority of sources, further from the event in time, including Plutarch *Antony* 85-6, Dio Cassius 51.14 and Servius here, mention a single asp only. J. Gwyn Griffiths, *JEA* 47 (1961), 113-8 and 51 (1965), 209-11 (criticised by B. Baldwin, *JEA* 50 (1964), 181-2), believes that Cleopatra used two cobras, partly to bring death more effectively, but also inspired by the symbol of the double uraeus. The uraeus, the hooded cobra, was a distinctive emblem of the Pharaohs; doubled, it symbolised territorially the 'Two Lands' of Upper and Lower Egypt. (Cleopatra VII was also certainly represented as Hathor-Isis, and one or more snakes were associated with the Isis-cult; but this association seems to have developed in the Roman cult of the goddess, and to have been rare in the Egyptian.) See also *N-H* 409 f., 419.

698 ff. *Iliad* 20.31 ff. provides precedent for a battle between gods—but Virgil's Olympians are all on the same side.

698 **omnigenumque deum**: *omnigenum* is the reading of all MSS except the first hand of the *codex Mediceus* which omits the first two letters. This adjective does not occur anywhere else in Virgil, but the MSS of Lucretius unanimously give some form of it at four places; Lachmann changed all four to *omne genus* and on 5.440 suggested that the reading here in Virgil might be *Niligenum*; Hoffmann got nearer to the MSS with *amnigenum* (also referring to the Nile).

Superficially *omnigenum* looks comparable in formation to *Troiugenum* (see the note on 82 (5)), and Priscian (732 P) recognised a nominative *omnigena*; but the *-gen-* does not mean 'born of' as it does in the other compounds, nor can the adjective here mean 'all-begetting', *omniparens*, as it was later used by Prudentius (*in Symmachum* 1.12). The adjective *omnigenus* is formed from the adverbial *omne genus*, 'of all kinds', like *multimodus* from *multi(s)modis*.

Here in Virgil *omnigenum* should be kept:

(1) the mistake of the *Mediceus* is not significant;

(2) it is quite possible that it is the correct reading in all cases in Lucretius (so Bailey on 1.1026), and is in any case what Virgil is likely to have read in *his* copy of Lucretius;

(3) it makes good sense: the Egyptians worshipped a multifarious

medley of gods, not only *latrator Anubis* represented with a dog's head, the constant companion of Isis, who was thought to have raised him, but also the crocodile, ibis, cat, and even some vegetables (see Juvenal 15, beginning).

For the genitive plural terminations see the notes on 93 and 127.

698 The cult of Isis (and of other Egyptian gods) began to appear in Rome in the time of Sulla. Between 59 and 48 B.C. repeated official attempts were made to eradicate it, but altars and chapels always reappeared. In 43 B.C., as a political concession to the populace, the Triumvirs intended to give official recognition to the cult by building a temple to Isis, but it is unlikely that this ever materialised. Augustus expressly shunned the worship of Apis (Suet. *Aug.* 93), and Virgil is faithful to his conservative religious policy in nowhere mentioning them except here in the defeat of a treacherous cause; but the Isis cult flourished privately, especially with the demi-mondaines of Augustan elegy, a public temple was established under the raving Caligula, and Lucan laments (8.831 ff.) *nos in templa tuam Romana accepimus Isim / semideosque canes et sistra iubentia luctus / et, quem tu plangens hominem testaris, Osirim.*

698 f. Again (cf. 696) closely followed by Propertius, 3.11.41 f.: *ausa Iovi nostro latrantem opponere Anubim, / et Tiberim Nili cogere ferre minas.*

699 Why *these* Roman gods? Neptune was controlling the sea in Augustus' favour; Venus was the constant protectress of the Julian house. Minerva may be here as representative of the Capitoline triad whose other members were not eligible to appear on this occasion, Jupiter being the final arbiter of the struggle and Juno the arch-enemy of Trojans and Romans; as such Minerva had the warlike attributes of Pallas Athene: so Bailey, *RV* 156, 201.

J. Gagé, *MEFR* 53 (1936), 66 ff., points out that Venus had local associations with Actium (where as Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνείας she still possessed a sanctuary), and that both she and Neptune figured on coins struck by Octavian immediately after Actium; but Minerva cannot be accounted for in any such connections. His suggestion that on the Shield she personifies western σωφροσύνη fighting against eastern idolatry may contain part of the truth. But her role, symbolised by the *Palladium*, as protectress of Troy and of Rome (cf. Cic. *Scaur.* 48, Ovid *Fasti* 6.417 ff. esp. 427 f.), fully justifies her presence here. For the historical background of 699 f., see Binder 242 ff.

701 **tristes...Dirae**: *tristis* does not often = 'sad', 'melancholy'; usually it means 'repellently gloomy, stern, bitter', so here, 'grim Furies'.

702 f. Discordia and Bellona recall the horrible abstractions in front of the entrance to Hades in *A.* 6.273 ff.: there (280) Discordia is *demens*, and here too she is insanely joyful at the violent division she will cause, symbolised by her rent mantle.

In Ennius' lines *postquam Discordia taetra / Belli ferratos postis portasque refregit* (266-7 V = Horace *Sat.* 1.4.60 f. and cf. *A.* 7.622), Discordia apparently breaks down the doors of the temple, to allow the spirit of war, Bellona, to burst out. Virgil's description of the pair can hardly have failed to remind *his* contemporaries of the ecstatic violence and frenzied

mutilations of the *fanatici* in their worship of Bellona-Ma (see H. J. Rose, *ARR* 128). Note the word-symmetry of 702.

704 **Actius...Apollo**: there was an ancient temple of Apollo on the promontory of Actium (at the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf), mentioned by Thucydides 1.29.3. Augustus ascribed his success to Actian Apollo, enlarged this temple, set up many other monuments there, and raised the status of the local festival to that of the Olympian. But *desuper* (705) would more appropriately allude to the dominating position of the temple of Apollo on Leucas. For Augustus' early attachment to Apollo, see the note on 720. Note the 'framing' of the line with adjective and noun.

705 **desuper**: an excellent example of the force of a first-foot dactylic word with a heavy pause after it, in the middle of a passage of descriptive verse of a high order. One need not be fanciful to feel in 704, predominantly spondaic and encumbered with an elision (*arc(um) intendebat*), the slow and deliberate drawing of the bow; the arrow is let fly with sudden speed (conveyed by the stopped dactylic rhythm, not by the meaning of *desuper*), and causes universal panic and retreat (note the repetition of *omnis...omnis...omnes*).

705 **eo terrore**: 'in terror *at* this', for *eius terrore*: this idiomatic attraction of the genitive of a demonstrative or relative *pronoun* to the noun dependent on it, so that it becomes the corresponding demonstrative or relative *adjective* in agreement, is far commoner than the strictly logical construction; cf., for example, Livy 1.58.5 *quo terrore* ('through terror of this', sc. his threat) *cum vicisset (Tarquinius) obstinatam pudicitiam*. See *KS* 1, 64 ff. and cf. *A*. 2.170 f. *aversa deae mens. / nec dubiis ea signa* (= *eius, aversae mentis, signa*) *dedit Tritonia monstris*.

705 f. Notice the alternation of collective singular and plural in *Aegyptus...Indi...Arabs...Sabaei*. Collective singulars are frequent with nouns of military designation like *miles, pedes, eques, hostis, remex*, and also with names of nationalities especially when they occur in a military or political context, cf., for example, *Parthus velim quiescat*, Cic. *Att*. 5.9.1. These collective singulars of national names, which are archaic in modern English, seem to have had their origin in Latin in lively colloquial speech. See Löfstedt 1^2,12 ff.; *N-H* on Horace *Odes* 1.19.12.

706 **Sabaei**: the subjects of the kingdom of Saba (Sheba), occupied the southern half of the Yemen, Arabia Felix (Eudaimon), the richest and most fabled part of the whole peninsula. In the course of his rule, Augustus had dealings with all the four nations of 705 f.

707 f. 'The queen herself, summoning fair winds, was seen setting sail and on the very point of letting the sheets run out loose.' *ventis vocatis* might be dative here after *dare*, but the same phrase is ablative at *A*. 3.253 and 5.211. *immittere* = 'to let go forward'; this basic sense of *mitto* is clear at Plautus *Rudens* 1015 *mitte rudentem*, 'leave hold of the rope'. *laxos* is proleptic.

709-13 Note the identical scansion and rhythm of 709 and 711: the heavy spondees of death and grief, contrasting with the entirely dactylic 713 for the flight of the vanquished.

709 **pallentem morte futura**, like Dido at *A.* 4.644 *pallida morte futura*; and this recollection is significant: in much of the description of Dido Virgil invites the reader to think of Cleopatra.

710 **undis et Iapyge ferri**: according to Aulus Gellius *N.A.* 2.22.21 f., who refers to this line, the Iapyx blows from Apulia, the Apulians themselves being known as Iapyges, in roughly the same direction as the *caurus*, i.e. from west-north-west. See Horace *Odes* 1.3.4 and *N-H ad loc.*

711 ff. On the Shield the Nile would of course be pictured as a river-god (see the note on Tiberinus, 33 f.), opening the folds of his garment to receive the fugitives.

712 Another line 'framed' by rhyming participles, cf. 669.

714-731 *Augustus celebrates his triple triumph and vows temples for the whole city in the midst of the festivities. Then, sitting at the entrance of the temple of Apollo, he reviews the long procession of conquered and conquests. Aeneas marvels at the pictures on the Shield, and shoulders the destiny of his descendants.*

714 **triplici...triumpho**: for the three victories in Dalmatia, at Actium, and at Alexandria, celebrated on three successive days, 13-15 August (but then still called *Sextilis*), 29 B.C., cf. Suet. *Aug.* 22.

714 f. **invectus... / moenia**: 'driving into the city'. Classical prose would normally have repeated the preverb *in-* as a preposition, *invectus in moenia*; poetry and post-classical prose can omit the preposition (*invehor* with a simple accusative is usual and common in Livy, e.g. 2.31.3, 4.29.4, etc.). *moenia*, by the common 'part for whole' figure, stands for *urbem*, or the buildings of the city. For the significant coupling *Romana...Italis* see the note on 678.

715 f. In his own account (*R.G.* 20.4) Augustus says that he *restored* 82 temples, and names twelve other new temples (*R.G.* 19) which he built (*ter centum* is used for any large number as at *A.* 4.510). Virgil is not necessarily telescoping the Augustan (re)building programme into one day (or even three): the temples are the subject of the *vow* and it is this which he 'was solemnising'.

717 f. The day of feasting (13 August) was made an annual event for the future by decree of the Senate; in 29 B.C. the consul M. Valerius Potitus (auspiciously named—*valere, potiri*) offered sacrifice for the return of the victor on behalf of Senate and People (Dio Cassius 51.20 f.). Just as 717-23 represent a telescoping of historical time (see the note, 720), it is possible that in 717 ff. Virgil is at least glancing at festivities which followed the days of the triple triumph: the dedication of the *aedes Divi Iuli* and celebration of the *lusus Troiae* on 18 August; the dedication of the *Curia Iulia* and the *Atrium Minervae* on 28 August; the celebration of the second anniversary of the victory at Actium on 2 September; the celebration of Augustus' own birthday and the cult festival of Mars and Neptune (on the Campus Martius) and of Apollo (near the theatre of Marcellus) on 23 September.

718 For the bucolic diaeresis and pause following a Greek loan-word, *chorus*, see the note on 24.

It is important to remember that Virgil is describing what was on the Shield, not stating the truism that all temples have altars; Peerlkamp's proposal to read *omnibus arae / ardentes*, shifting the emphasis to a feature they would have on a festival, is therefore ingenious but unnecessary.

720 **niveo candentis limine Phoebi**: the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, next to the imperial palace, was the most splendid in the Rome of its day. It was built of solid blocks of Luna marble (hence the 'snow-white threshold'), and in front of the entrance stood the cult-statue of Apollo, also of marble, dazzling white (*candentis*, appropriate for the sun-god).

Augustus vowed the temple in the campaign against Sextus Pompey in 36 B.C., but although work began on it in that year, it was not dedicated until 9 October, 28 B.C.: by that time the association of Apollo with the victory of Actium had become paramount, so that Propertius refers to the temple there as *Actia monumenta* (4.6.17), and Virgil alludes to its statue as *Actius Apollo* (704).

It is no coincidence that Virgil places Augustus in the very spot the statue of Apollo was later to occupy: he had been very ready to regard Apollo as his patron, and even to identify himself with him (Suet. *Aug.* 70 and 94.4, and perhaps implied in *tuus iam regnat Apollo, E.* 4.10). Through his support the new temple threatened to eclipse that of the chief state-cult on the Capitol, from where the Sibylline Books were transferred to it. The narrative of 714 ff. seems designed to give the impression that Augustus' triumphal procession ended there and not at the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, as it in fact did.

In terms of the plan of the *Aeneid*, Augustus discharges the vow made by his ancestor Aeneas to the Apollo of Cumae, *A.* 6.69 f. *tum Phoebo et Triviae solido de marmore templum / instituam.*

No absolutely certain traces of this splendid edifice remain, but a podium and stairway, previously assigned to the temple of *Iuppiter Victor*, are now generally thought to have belonged to it (see Platner-Ashby *s.v.*, and Nash 1, 31 f.).

About fourteen months of historical time are telescoped in the picture of Augustus sitting in the apparently completed temple of Apollo (October 28 B.C.) reviewing the triumphal procession (August 29 B.C.); see D. L. Drew, *CQ* 18 (1924), 195 ff.

723 Compare Lucan's description of Pompey's eastern allies (3.288 ff.) *coiere nec unquam / tam variae cultu gentes, tam dissona vulgi / ora*; for other possible reminiscences of Virgil in Lucan, see Heitland's introduction 108 ff., to Haskins' *Pharsalia* (London, 1887).

724 ff. The *victae gentes* of Virgil are hardly compatible with a sober historical list; mostly, they are frontier-peoples of the empire, chosen to suggest the extent of the world-conqueror's power.

Nomadum genus, as at *A.* 4.320, means the nomads *par excellence*, in and around Numidia (in fact, Bogudes, king of Mauretania, had been

an ally of Antony: Dio Cassius 50.6.4). The *Leleges* cannot be given a local habitation in the Augustan period; for Herodotus (1.171) they were Carians, and here too they are coupled with them (as already in Homer, *Il.* 10.428 f.). But Caria too had ceased to exist in any geographical or administrative sense after it became part of the province of Asia in 129 B.C.

The *Geloni* (cf. *G.* 2.115) were a Scythian race on the north of the Black Sea around the Dnieper. Horace also associates them with the Euphrates in a similar piece of patriotic exaggeration, *Odes* 2.9.21 ff. *Medumque flumen gentibus additum / victis minores volvere vertices, / intraque praescriptum Gelonos / exiguis equitare campis.* The nomadic *Dahae* were also a Scythian tribe, east of the Caspian, who shared the Parthian reputation for archery on horseback.

Virgil's language about the Euphrates and Araxes might suggest that Augustus imposed Roman rule on Parthia and Armenia in 30 B.C. Public opinion may indeed have expected Augustus after Actium *Parthos... reposcere signa* (*A.* 7.606); in fact he refrained from any offensive action in the East and allowed the situations in Parthia and Armenia to remain as he found them. The four or five legions which he garrisoned in Syria were not stationed on or near the Euphrates which was that province's natural line of defence against Parthia (*CAH* 10, 279 ff.), and although he settled the princeling Artavasdes on the throne of Armenia *Minor*, he allowed the rebel Artaxes to retain that of Armenia *Major* (through which the Araxes flows), and even after Artaxes' death he 'preferred' (*R.G.* 27.2) diplomatic manipulation of it through a client-king rather than making it a province. Lucan took a more historical view: but for civil war *sub iuga...iam barbarus isset Araxes* (1.19).

The above places and peoples might very loosely be connected with Augustus' victory over Antony and the triple triumph of 29 B.C., but the Morini and the Rhine cannot be and in any case disturb the geographical order (should 727 and 728 be transposed?).

The *Morini*, one of the stronger tribes of Gaul (Caesar *B.G.* 2.4.9), lived on the coast of Belgium and northern France, approximately between Boulogne and Zeebrugge. (*extremi* is surprising after Caesar's invasion of Britain, but the Britons were cut off by 'the stream of Ocean' from the mainland continent (*E.* 1.66 *penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*), and Augustus at any rate did not intend to disturb them.) They and the Rhine estuaries (*bicornis* 727) simply mark the northern limits of Roman power.

724 **Mulciber** (Vulcan) is connected with *mulcere*; Servius (here) takes it of the power of fire to subdue everything (especially of course metals); more probably it refers to the power of the god to quell fire itself.

discinctos...Afros: 'ungirt', with no belt to prevent their robes from flowing loose: to the Roman military mind a symptom of unenergetic softness; but here the adjective is more picturesque than derogatory.

726 ff. The Shield showed pictures of personified river-gods, Euphrates, Rhine and Araxes, being carried in Augustus' triumphal procession (see the note on Tiberinus, 33 f. and especially Ovid *A.A.* 1.223 quoted there).

727 **bicornis**: see the note on *corniger* 77; the two horns may allude to

the two main estuaries of the river, the Rhine proper and the Waal: the adjective certainly refers to the two branches of the Tiber which form the Isola Sacra in Rutilius Namatianus *De Reditu Suo* 1.179 f. *fronte bicorni / dividuus Tiberis dexteriora secat.* But here the primary fact is the *picture* of the river-god carried in the triumph, on which he could not of course have had more than two 'tauromorphic' *cornua.*

728 **pontem indignatus Araxes**: according to Servius a bridge was built over the Araxes by Augustus to replace one erected by Alexander the Great but destroyed by floods: when and where exactly he does not say, and such a bridge is nowhere attested. But the reference may be general, 'disdaining to be bridged' at any point because of the violence of its stream. This personification of the river was regarded by Quintilian (8.6.11) as producing *mira sublimitas.*

729 **dona** (poetic pl.) **parentis** (Venus).

730 **rerum** is to be taken *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* with both *ignarus* and *imagine*, 'ignorant of the events, he rejoices in their picture'.

731 **famamque et fata**: *-que et*, like *-que*. . . *-que*, was already an archaism in Old Latin (this follows from the fact that both formulae occur mostly at the end of verses in Plautus and other early poets (e.g. Ennius *Ann.* 240 V . . . *malaque et bona dictu*), and the verse-end was the most conservative part in structure, see Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus* 209 ff.); both were reserved by the early poets chiefly for passages of a loftier style, and so readopted by the Augustan poets with a similar aim in view; both were strictly avoided by Cicero and Caesar. See the note on 94 *-que*. . . *-que* and *LHSz* 2, 515. Note also that although here *-que et* is a formula, *-que* being quite inessential to the sense, in other cases, e.g. 625 *hastamque et clipei*, both *-que* and *et* are true connectives.

This last line was decried by critics (cited by Servius *auctus*) as superfluous, undignified and neoteric. The objection is mainly against the notion of 'lifting' weightless abstractions (Anchises at the end of *A.* 2 was quite a different matter). But other expressions in Virgil combine material and abstract with no hint of playfulness or amusement: see the note on 226 f.; and the ancient critics in question seem to have been obtuse to the evident symbolism. The echo in fa*mamque et* fa*ta* hints at an intimate connection, as in the title of Housman's lecture on 'The Name and Nature of Poetry': cf. *fama fatisque canebant A.* 7.79.

APPENDIX: METRE AND VERSE

(*Note.* The following works are referred to by author only:
Hardie, W. R. *Res Metrica*, Oxford, 1920, reprinted 1934.
Knight, W. F. Jackson. *Accentual Symmetry in Vergil*, Oxford, 1950.
Norden, E. *Aeneis, Buch VI*, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1926, reprinted 1957.
Winbolt, S. E. *Latin Hexameter Verse*, London, 1903.
An excellent short summary of the basic principles of prosody and Virgil's metre can be found in W. S. Maguinness, *Aeneid XII* (London, 2nd ed., 1960), 20–8.

Also to be consulted: the Excursus on the hexameter in Sir Frank Fletcher's edition of *Aeneid* VI (Oxford, 1941, reprinted 1951); on the fourth foot, A. M. Woodward, *Philological Quarterly* 15 (1936), 126 ff.; T. E. V. Pearce, 'The Enclosing Word Order in the Latin Hexameter', *CQ* N.S 16 (1966), 140–71 and 298–320. For further discussion of the Ictus-Accent theory on which the following sketch is based, and for criticism of rival theories, see L. P. Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry*, 118 ff., and Appendix I.)

Basic notions

The dactylic hexameter of Greek and Latin epic poetry is a line containing six rhythmic units or *feet*, with a regularly recurring verse-beat (*ictus*) on the first syllable, necessarily long, of each foot. The last foot of the line contains only two syllables and is followed by a slight rhythmic pause, which severs the line from the one that follows, and enables the last syllable which precedes it to be indifferently long or short (*syllaba anceps*). Each of the remaining five feet may contain either two or three syllables which are distinctly pronounced and not slurred over or suppressed (by *elision*): the first long syllable which carries the *ictus* is followed either by another long syllable (producing a *spondee*), or by two short syllables (producing a *dactyl*).

Homer clearly regarded each hexameter line as a unit marked off by the pause at the end. Virgil occasionally makes a unit of *two* lines by giving the first an extra syllable at the end (making it *hypermetric*), which must be elided before the first syllable of the second line if it is not to disrupt the metre. Some intimate connection in sense is often reflected by the fusion of the lines, as, for example, at *A*. 6.602 f.

> quo super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentiqu(e)
> imminet adsimilis

(and see the note on *A*. 8.228 f.). Hypermetre occurs very rarely indeed in Latin poetry before Virgil (five instances only are cited by Austin on *A*. 4.558), and there are no examples in Greek epic poetry.

Latin poetry, like English and German poetry, was originally accentual and depended for its rhythm on the natural stress (*accent*) which every word

carries with it on one or more of its syllables. Epic poetry in Greek had always been quantitative, with the rhythm of the verse made clear by the length or time-value of the separate syllables of each word. Ennius was the first to impose this quantitative Greek metre on Latin epic, and in so doing posed the problem of how to reconcile the natural accentual bent of the language with the alien discipline of quantity.

The Latin hexameter

(I) *The middle of the verse.*

Ennius is plausibly credited with having written the two following lines:

(1) sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret (*Varia* 14 V),

(2) poste recumbite, vestraque pectora pellite tonsis (*Ann.* 230 V).

These lines may be experimental, but in one vital respect they run counter to the whole trend of the epic hexameter in both Greek and Latin: they fall apart in the middle because the break between the third and fourth feet of the verse coincides with that between the third and fourth words in the line. The most stable characteristic of the epic hexameter is the unbreakable link between the two rhythmic halves of the verse, formed by a word which spans the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth foot. The shortest and simplest word which can do this is obviously one of two syllables, as in these (far more typical) lines of Ennius:

(3) hastati spargunt hastas, fit ferreus imber (*Ann.* 284 V),

(4) aeternum seritote diem concorditer ambo (*Ann.* 106 V).

In (3) *hastas* spans the critical point, and the break between words does not occur in the middle of the verse, but 'cuts' it (producing a *caesura*) in the middle of the third foot, and also in the middle of the fourth foot (or after five and seven half-feet respectively, a *penthemimeral* and *hephthemimeral* caesura respectively). In (4) the break in the third foot occurs not after the first, long syllable (which would make it a *strong* or *masculine* caesura), but after the second, short syllable (a *weak* or *feminine* caesura); and in (4) too there is a strong caesura in the fourth foot.

Of the first two hundred complete and genuine lines of *A.* 8 (1-202, excluding 41 and 46), 67·5 % have the mid-point of the verse spanned by a single word which has either (*a*) spondaic form (30 %), or (*b*) anapaestic form (24·5 %), or (*c*) iambic form (13 %). They are all illustrated in *A.* 8.102-9 (102-5 (*a*); 106-7 (*c*); 108-9 (*b*)). The figures quoted include words which come to have the metrical form in question through elision of the last syllable.

The second obvious way of avoiding a break at the crucial point is to place before it a single long monosyllable whose sense unites it much more intimately with the word(s) following than with the word(s) preceding: it is almost always a preposition or conjunction; cf., for example, *A.* 8.82-3:

candida per silvam cum fetu concolor albo
procubuit viridique in litore conspicitur sus.

Lines of this type form 13 % of the first two hundred of this book. It follows that very nearly eight lines out of every ten in this section, which there is no ground to regard as untypical, avoid the break at mid-verse by one of the simple and obvious means so far discussed. (Note in passing that words of two short syllables before the mid-point of the verse are not nearly so common (3·5 % in the same section), probably because the rhythm they produce fails to achieve the vital object; there is however a sequence of two at *A*. 8.182-3.)

The most usual metrical forms of the link word cause a 'cutting' of the verse-rhythm both before and after them, but to secure *two* caesurae on either side of the middle of every verse, the spanning word would always have to be of the metrical form of *hastas* (or its equivalent, e.g. *gladios*), or of *diem*. This would be restrictive and monotonous, and Latin hexameter verse in its maturity requires as indispensable only (i) a strong caesura in the third foot, e.g.

(5) aspice, ventosi ceciderunt murmuris aurae (*Ecl.* 9.58);

or (ii) a strong caesura in the fourth foot, e.g.

(6) munera praetere(a) Iliacis erepta ruinis (*A*. 1.647);

or (iii) a weak caesura in the third foot, e.g.

(7) spargens umida mella soporiferumque papaver (*A*. 4.486).

According to Hardie, p. 8, about 64 % of the lines in Ennius, Lucretius and Virgil have a type (i) caesura (with or without (ii) or (iii) as well).

A line which lacks a break between words *either* before the last syllable of the third foot *or* after the first syllable of the fourth came to be considered unrhythmic or 'untuned'. This is the point of Horace's line in the *Ars Poetica* (263):

(8) non quivis videt immodulata poemata iudex,

'not every critic can discern verses which are untuned' (like this one). Note that the weak caesura after the second syllable of the fourth foot does not qualify as a principal caesura because it is too far from the mid-point of the verse. Virgil himself twice came very near to writing such an 'untuned' verse:

(9) portat ovans. ducis exempl(um) eventumque secuti (*A*. 11.758),
(10) magnanimi Iovis ingrat(um) ascendere cubile (*A*. 12.144).

Both of these are however helped out by the *quasi-caesura*, or break between words in the fourth foot which would have been effective if the last syllable in *-um* had not been elided. (In (8) and (10) a slight break may also have been felt between the prefix and root of the compound word, *im-modulata* and *in-gratum*. There are seven lines in Lucretius whose only possible 'cutting' is of this kind: see C. Bailey, *Lucretius* vol. 1, p. 112.)

(II) *The beginning and end of the verse*

It is obvious that if words of the same metrical form as the most common link-words (spondee and anapaest) were built around them (two on each side), a caesura would be produced in every foot. In fact however the link-

word is often of a different (longer) metrical form than those discussed so far (it is in very nearly 20 % of the first two hundred lines of *A.* 8): frequent is a *molossus* (of three long syllables) or its metrical equivalents. The surrounding words too can be of many different shapes. Great variety is possible, and a mathematical computation of all the possibilities is not needed to show that chance or necessity alone will generate caesurae in feet other than the two central ones—unless a deliberate attempt is made to avoid them. These secondary caesurae are important in echoing the principal one(s), and are a regular and normal feature of the first two feet of the line; in the last two, however, a significant restriction was imposed.

It is rare in Virgil to find a caesura after the first long syllable of the sixth foot (which gives a monosyllabic ending to the line; see the notes on 43, 400, 679), or of the fifth foot (see the note on 382). On the other hand, it is common to find a caesura after the second (short) syllable of the dactylic fifth foot, as it is also to find a break between words (*diaeresis*) at the end of the fifth foot. In other words Virgil followed Cicero, who standardised what was already a marked tendency in Ennius, to end the verse with a word of two or three syllables (of the metrical shape –⏓ and ⏑–⏓ respectively).

The effect of this restriction on the rhythm of the verse-end is evident if one considers the place of the natural stress on Latin words. According to the 'law of the (*syllaba*) *penultima*', which holds good for them all, a word of two syllables only bears the stress on the penultimate; a word of more than two syllables bears the stress on the penultimate if that is long, but on the antepenultimate if the penultimate is short. (Note in passing (1) that the elision of the last syllable of a word has no effect on the position of the accent; but (2) that when the enclitic *-que* is joined to a word it seems that there is a change in the position of the stress(es), and *-que* is regarded as an integral part of the new word, which is re-accented according to the general 'law'.) It necessarily follows that a word of two or three syllables which ends a hexameter must have its accent in the same position as the ictus of the sixth foot; and that *any* word of two or more syllables which precedes (other than a word of two short syllables (a *pyrrhic*)) must have its accent in the same position as the ictus of the fifth foot.

Strong rhythmic coincidence in the last two feet goes hand-in-hand with the restriction on the metrical shape and length of the last word of the verse: in all probability it was the desire for the first which caused the second, just as it must have been the desire to establish the dactylic character of the line which caused the virtual exclusion of spondees from the fifth foot (see the note on 54 for verses which contain a spondee in this position, *versus spondeiazontes*). The result is the characteristic rhythmic unit which in recitation serves to identify the metre and punctuate the flow of the verse with a familiar cadence. In the Virgilian hexameter the first foot also is much more often a dactyl than a spondee (but not so 'regularly' as the fifth). It is rare to find a self-contained spondaic word in the first foot, especially one followed by a sense-pause (see the note on 71), no doubt because the inevitable coincidence of ictus and accent on it echoes the same pattern in the last foot of the verse before, and prevents

the new line from establishing its dactylic character. As Latin, unlike Greek, has a preponderant number of long syllables, this dactylic identity of the metre was in danger of being lost, and needed to be preserved by the 'rule' of the dactylic fifth and the encouragement of the dactylic first foot —features of hexameter poetry already evident before Virgil.

It has already been observed that in the first half of the verse caesurae are naturally produced by words which span and link two consecutive feet: this entails a conflict of ictus and accent and a consequent feeling of tension in the rhythm of the line. It is clear that Virgil deliberately aimed at this except in cases where its absence has particular point. After the conflict of ictus and accent, their coincidence in the last two feet is even further emphasised by contrast, and felt as a resolution of the tension in the line. (Jackson Knight, *op. cit.* above, gives the convenient labels 'heterodyne' to the conflict of accent and ictus, 'homodyne' to their coincidence.)

(III) *The fourth foot*

In the *Aeneid* as a whole there is coincidence of ictus and accent in the fourth foot in 35·95 per cent of the lines (this and other figures in this section are those of Jackson Knight, p. 108). In other words, about seven lines out of twenty have rhythmic coincidence in the whole of the last half of the verse. This is an appreciable drop on the estimate for Catullus 64 (the Epyllion) (61·25 %), and for Lucretius 1 (51·49 %). This is unlikely to be mere accident, and it can safely be deduced that Virgil deliberately tried to prolong the conflict and tension of the line further than his predecessors.

Jackson Knight also notes that there is a tendency for Virgil to use rhythmic coincidence in all the last three feet of lines which conclude paragraphs: this can be illustrated by a number of cases (for a discussion of this feature and further references, see R. D. Williams' note on *A*. 5.5 f.). But in respect of the fourth foot, *A*. 8 has a higher percentage of coincidence of ictus and accent (39·97) than any other book of the *Aeneid*, and also a higher percentage of such lines which do not end a paragraph. Jackson Knight, pp. 40 and 53, concludes from this that *A*. 8 or much of it is early work, incorporated later into the bulk of the poem. A safer inference might be that the nature of *A*. 8, lacking for its greater part any high dramatic or emotional tension, is reflected to some extent in this feature of the verse. It is remarkable that in *A*. 8, 184-267, where the drama of the Cacus episode *could* have been reflected in a high proportion of heterodyned fourth feet, there is in fact just the reverse: three lines in seven (42·86 %) have a homodyned fourth foot. This may be an indication that Virgil in this respect as in others is treating the episode primarily according to the conventions of the epyllion, quite distinct from his own battle-narrative in, for example, *A*. 10 (where fourth foot homodyne averages 32·59 %).

The *rhythm* of the Virgilian hexameter is *marked* by the regularly repeated position of the ictus in each verse, *varied* by divergence from the 'average' pattern of dactyl/spondee arrangement ($\overset{1}{\mathrm{D}}\,\overset{2}{\mathrm{s}}\,\overset{3}{\mathrm{s}}\,\overset{4}{\mathrm{S}}$; see Winbolt, p. 115), and given *tension* by the clash of ictus and accent.

The movement of the verse

Verse-movement depends on how a sense-unit (sentence, clause or phrase) is fitted on to the hexameter framework. Two opposite tendencies had shown themselves in pre-Virgilian verse, according to whether the poet was more preoccupied with content or form.

(A) This passage is taken at random from Lucretius (1.387 ff.):

is porro quamvis circum celerantibus auris
confluat, haud poterit tamen uno tempore totum
compleri spatium; nam primum quemque necessest
occupet ille locum, deinde omnia possideantur.
quod si forte aliquis, cum corpora dissiluere,
tum putat id fieri, quia se condenseat aer,
errat; nam vacuum tum fit quod non fuit ante
et repletur item vacuum quod constitit ante.

Here a prose passage has been draped over the hexameter framework rather than fitted on to it; word-order differs from prose only through necessary concessions to the metre and lacks any formal arrangement. But the verse has great *mobility*; accident alone produces variety in the internal pauses and no preponderant number of final pauses.

(B) The practice of Catullus (64) and the neoterics is quite different. This example is taken from the post-Virgilian *Ciris* (29 ff.):

ergo Palladiae texuntur in ordine pugnae,
magna Giganteis ornantur pepla tropaeis,
horrida sanguineo pinguntur proelia cocco,
additur aurata deiectus cuspide Typhon,
qui prius Ossaeis consternens aethera saxis
Emathio celsum duplicabat vertice Olympum.

Here a 'poetic' passage has been nailed on to the hexameter framework; word-order shows a highly formalised and artificial arrangement (by the same pattern of the 'golden line', adjective 1, adjective 2, verb, noun 1, noun 2). The verse is an aggregate of *static* units; the only sense-pauses are final ones, and they are frequent.

Vocabulary and subject-matter apart, Virgil's epic verse leans more towards (A) than (B), but is most often (C), a refined combination of both. Statistics are of limited value in the appreciation of verse-technique, and it would be unhelpful to compile them for *each* of the factors which can determine verse-movement, which in Virgil usually depends on a combination of them which defies neat dissection. The chief factors are best illustrated by examples.

(A) Mobility is achieved when different parts of the same sense-unit (subject—verb—object, or noun—attribute) fall in different lines: e.g.

(*a*) dixerat et niveis hinc atque hinc *diva* lacertis
cunctantem amplexu molli *fovet. ille* repente

accepit solitam *flammam*, notusque *medullas*
intravit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit. (387 ff.)

(*b*) ter leto sternendus erat; cui tunc tamen *omnis*
abstulit haec *animas* dextra et totidem exuit armis:
non ego nunc dulci *amplexu* divellerer usquam,
nate, *tuo*, neque *finitimo* Mezentius umquam
huic *capiti* insultans tot ferro *saeva* dedisset
funera, tam multis viduasset civibus urbem. (566 ff.)

Noun and attribute are sometimes widely separated:

(*c*) miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum
Aeneas capiturque locis et *singula* laetus
exquiritque auditque virum *monimenta* priorum. (310 ff.)

And such wide separation may accompany the interweaving or 'overstepping' (*hyperbaton*) of a part of one clause into another:

(*d*) (an unusually intricate example):
non secus atque olim tonitru cum rupta *corusco*
ignea rima micans percurrit *lumine* nimbos. (391 f.)

(In *A*. 8 cf. also 149, 168, 689 f.; and see R. D. Williams' note on *A*. 5.26-7.)

Mobility can be achieved, and frequently is by Lucretius, by ignoring the emphasis which the end of the verse carries with it, and placing there a word which cannot appropriately bear it (generally a part of speech other than a noun, adjective or verb). Virgil curtailed this practice, more drastically in *A*. 8 than elsewhere in his poetry: in this book prepositions at the end of the line are always anastrophic, and adverbs and pronouns intentionally given the emphasis of their position (see further Norden, pp. 400 ff.).

(B) *Static* lines, where sense-unit and verse-unit coincide, are much less frequent in Virgil than in neoteric hexameters. Although word-order differs little from that of prose in

(*e*) hi bellum assidue ducunt cum gente Latina;
hos castris adhibe socios et foedera iunge, (55 f.)

static lines generally show the formalised arrangement of a *pair* of nouns and adjectives, as in 'golden lines' like

(*f*) tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona.
(684; cf. 319, 616 and with some variation 355, 458, 497)

or with different patterns like

(*g*) haec pater Aeoliis properat dum Lemnius oris (454)

(*h*) et scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla (702)

(*i*) Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum. (334; cf. 341, 521)

In neoteric poetry one of the adjectives required by the pattern is some-

times otiose and purely ornamental; in Virgil preoccupation with the pattern sometimes leads to hypallage (see the notes on 542 and 654). Aggregates of static lines, as in the example from the *Ciris* quoted above, do not appear in the *Aeneid.*

(C) Virgil achieves his refined combination of the two techniques in two chief ways: either (1) by imposing some kind of symmetry on the verse without thereby interrupting its flow, or (2) by spreading a formalised pattern itself over the last part of one and the first part of the next line.

(1) Two coordinated instances of the same part of speech 'framing' the line at its beginning and end, *or* beginning and ending two successive lines ('linking' the lines), e.g.

(*j*) interea, cum iam stabulis saturata *moveret*
Amphitryoniades armenta abitumque *pararet*,
discessu mugire boves atque omne querelis
impleri nemus et colles clamore *relinqui.*
reddidit una boum vocem vastoque sub antro
mugiit et Caci spem custodita *fefellit.* (213 ff.)

(*k*) ego sum pleno quem flumine cernis
stringentem ripas et pinguia culta *secantem.* (62 f.)

A line may also be 'framed' by an adjective at the beginning and its noun at the end, e.g.

(*l*) *populeis* adsunt evincti tempora *ramis.*
(286; see the note on 32)

'Framing' and 'linking' patterns do not of course of themselves produce mobility of verse, but Virgil modified the neoteric tendency to associate them with static lines (see however the note on 78).

(2) Examples of a complete pattern of a *pair* of nouns and adjectives spread over two lines occur sporadically, e.g.

(*m*) ut sese inclusit *ruptisque immane catenis*
deiecit *saxum*, ferro quod et arte paterna
pendebat,... (225 ff.)

But the most common, adaptable and subtle form of pattern in Virgil consists of *one* noun and its attribute (it deserves the name pattern because both words occupy one of the emphatic positions of the verse—at its beginning or end, or before or after one of the main caesurae; contrast example (*c*) above). Great variety is possible; the following three examples are taken at random:

(*n*) surgit et *aetherii* spectans orientia *solis*
lumina rite *cavis* undam de flumine *palmis*
sustinet ac *talis* effundit ad aethera *voces.* (68 ff.)

(Notice that although *this* pattern is the same in three successive lines, the verse is kept mobile by the relation of the dotted words: see (A) above).

(*o*) insula *Sicanium* || iuxta || *latus Aeoliamque* ||
erigitur *Liparen* || *fumantibus* || ardua *saxis*. || (416 f.)

(Note the position of words relative to beginning and end of verse and caesurae.)

(*p*) fecerat et *viridi* || *fetam* || Mavortis in *antro* ||
procubuisse *lupam*, || *geminos* huic ubera circum
ludere pendentis || *pueros* et lambere matrem
impavidos. (630 ff.)

(Here, on balance, the pattern helps mobility.)

It will be obvious from the above account that there is another factor which goes hand-in-hand with word-arrangement and also contributes to variety: a range of different ways of relating the naturally emphatic positions of the prose sentence to the emphatic positions of the hexameter verse. In other words, there can be great variety in the position of sense-pauses within the line; some of these positions have descriptive effect, all of them help to avoid monotony (they are discussed in individual notes in the commentary).

INDEX VERBORUM

(*References are to the numbered notes of the commentary*)

abduçere, 208
abiurare, 263
adire, 544
advertere (animum), 50
aequor, 89
ales, 27
aliquando, 602
(ali)quis, 578
almus, 455
altaria, 285
alte (ex alto), 395
altus, 461
ango(r), 260 f.
aperire, 681
at (= αὐτάρ), 454
ater, 198 f.
augustus, 678
auratus, 655
avertere, 208

bidens, 544
bimembris, 293

cadere (*of stars, etc.*), 59
caecus, 253
Caere, 597 f.
caerul(e)us, 64
candidus, 82
canere, 49, 656
capere, 311, 363
caput (*of river*) 65; 144 f., 569 f.
cavus, 599
celerare, 90
citus (= citatus), 642
communis (deus), 275
condensus, 497
consistere, 10
coruscare, 661
coruscus, 391 f.

daps, 175
dare (= immittere), 30; (*sacral term*), 106; (e.g. sonitum = sonare), 405; (e.g. dicta = dicere), 541; (iura), 670
debitus, 375
devexus, 280
dies, 102
domus (*of river*), 65
ducere, 55
ductor, 6
durare, 577

effulgēre, 677
egelidus, 610
elidere, 260 f.
en, 612 f.
enim, 84 f.
equidem, 471
erilis, 461 f.
est (*with infinitive*), 676
et (= etiam), 9
exercere, 378
exsors, 552
extundere, 665

facere (*sacral term*), 189; (= fingere), 630 f.
fatidicus, 340
fatum, 340, 512
favere (*sacral term*), 173
fervēre, 677
fetus, 630 f.
fidus, 521 f.
flos, 500
foedus, 169
fulgor, 427
fulmen, 427
furiae, 205, 219
furor, 219

gaesum, 662
gemitus, 419 f.
glaucus, 33 f.
gracilis, 409

haruspex, 498
hoc (= huc), 423
honos, 61
horridus, 348 ff.

iam, 190
iamque adeo, 585
ilicet, 223
immanis, 192
immittere, 707 f.
inaccessus, 195
increpare, 527
indubitare, 404
induci (= indui), 457
informare, 426
ingens, 43, 192
ingruere, 535
(in)nare, 651
instare, 433 f.

instaurare, 283 f.
in unum, 576
invehi, 714 f.
invitare, 177 f.

labrum, 22
lacus, 74, 451
laetus (*sacral term*), 275
laquear, 25
laudes, 273
lautus, 361
libens (*sacral term*), 275
limen, 362
litoreus, 43
lustralis, 183
lustrare, 229

mactare, 85
Manes, 246
manus, 289, 694
micare, 391 f.
monimentum, 312
monstrum, 312
mos, 316
munus, 273

neu (*for* nec), 582
nidus, 235
nodus (*wrestling term*), 260; (Herculis), 260
nomen, 472 f.
notus, 389
novus, 389
nubigena, 293
numen, 78, 512
numerus, 453

obex, 227
obsitus, 307
olle, 94
omnigenus, 698
orator, 505

pallidus, 197
pater, 72, 394
pauper, 105
pelagi (? *locative*), 333
perpetuus, 183 f.
pius, 84
polire, 436
porgere, 274
Praeneste, 561
primus, 6, 59, 134, 143, 288, 319, 407, 561, 602
proavus, 54
procul, 98, 112
profecto, 532
proficisci, 51
properare, 454
prop(r)ius, 78
putare, 522

-que...-que, 94

recoctus, 624
referre, 342 f.
religio, 349 f.
relinquere, 125
rostrum, 690
rudere, 248
rumor, 90

saeclum, 508
saepe, 353
sagulum, 660
sanies, 487
secretus, 610, 670
silex, 233
simul, 4
sistrum, 696
solitus, 389
sollemnis, 102
spectatus, 151
spes, 580
strictura, 420 f.
struere, 15
stuppeus, 694
subvehi, 58
sudum, 529
superbus, 196
superstitio, 187

tabum, 487
tendere, 605
tenuis, 409
tortus, 429
torus, 177
trepidus, 5
tristis, 701
Troiugena, 117
tuba, 523 ff.
tutus, 603 f.

unde domo, 114
usus est (= opus est), 441

vastare, 8
vastus, 193
vestis, 659
vibrare, 524
virgatus, 660
viscera, 180
volens (*sacral term*), 275

INDEX NOMINUM ET RERUM

(*References are to the numbered notes of the commentary*)

Abetone (Monte), 599
ablative
  ambiguous or pervasive, 3, 31, 38, 89, 213, 219 f., 510, 693
  descriptive, 31, 219 f., 693
  locative: (of time), 407 f.; with *totus*, 427
  modal, 199
  of material, 673
  of respect, 223, 318, 510, 530 (*animis*)
  simple abl. exploited, 215 f.
Accius, 130
accusative
  adverbial use of neut. pl., 248, 489
  appositional or exclamatory, 339, 487 (main note), 683
  direct object of 'middle' verbs, 265, 457, 618
  of extent, 651
  of respect with adjectives, 114, 425
  with perfect participles, 29 (main note), 286, 520, 662
Achates, 521 f.
Actium, battle of, 682, 693
address, in hymn, 285 ff.
adjectives
  compound: as neologisms, 82; Greek flavour, 293, 596
  Latin equivalent of Greek compound: 31, 64, 86, 219 f., 364 f., 387 f., 673
  neut. pl., as adverb, 248, 489; as noun, 221
  used adverbially, 20, 30 (main note), 57, 107 f., 310, 465, 543; with participle, 299, 559, 683
ἀδύνατον, 87
adverbs
  comparative force weakened, 101
  disliked by poetry, 299
  relative, for adjective, 71
  shortage in Latin, 30, 299
aegis: evolution, 435; users, 523 ff.
Aeoliae insulae, 416 f.
Aetna, 416 f., 416 ff., 419, 453
agricultural layer of Latin vocabulary, 307, 436, 522
Agrippa, M. Vipsanius, 3, 682, 684
Agylla, 478 ff.
Aethiopis, known to Virgil, 383 f.
Alba Longa, 43-5, 46, 47 f.
Albula(e), 330 ff.
Alcaeus, 209 ff.
Alcman, 26-35
allegorical interpretation, 104, 285
alliteration, 2, 43, 47 f., 58, 391 f., 500, 603, 644 f., 679
ambiguity
  grammatical, 219 f.
  intentional in meaning, 680 f.
Amphitryoniades, 103
anachronism, in material details, 79, 690
anacoluthon, deliberate, 401 ff.
anastrophe, of disyllabic prepositions, 32
ancilia, 663 f.
animals, sacrificial, 84 f.
Anius, 157 ff.
Annaeus Cornutus, 405 f.
Antonius, Marcus, 679, 686
apices, 663 f.
ἀπὸ κοινοῦ constructions, 213, 290, 520, 618, 730
Apollo
  Actius, 704
  as archegete, 336
  favoured by Augustus, 720
  Palatine temple, 720
Apollonius of Rhodes, 22 ff., 285 ff., 408 ff., 421, 426 f., 589 ff., 622 f.
apostrophe
  in prayer, 84 f.
  literary mannerism, 643
Ara Carmentalis, 306 ff.
Ara Maxima
  cult, 279, 285
  festival day, 102
  foundation day, 269
  founder, 271
  Graecus ritus, 183, 276, 283 f.
  history of cult, 269 f.
  locality, 104, 306 ff.
'Ara Pacis', 43-5
Araxes, 724 ff., 728
Arcadian foundation of Rome, 313
archaism, 73, 84 f., 94, 110, 189, 441, 522, 534, 639, 677, *et saepe*
Argiletum, 345 f.
Argus *quidam*, 345 f.
Armenia, 724 ff.

Arx Saturnia, 306 ff., 357 f., 358
Arx Tarpeia, 306 ff., 652
assonance, 43, 47 f.
asylum Romuli, 306 ff., 342 f.
Atlas, and his descendants, 130, 134 ff.
augural terms, 4, 27, 78, 302, 523 ff.
Augustus, 102, 269, 666, 678, 714, 715 f.
Ausonius, 74 f., 90, 96
Ausonius = Italian, 328
auspicium, oblativum and *impetrativum*, 78

Bactra, 688
banquet, order of events, 184 ff., 283 f.
Bellona, 702 f.
Bentley, as critic of Virgil, 65, 197, 236 f., 301, 410
bones
  scarce in hell, 297
  sexually excitable marrow, 389 f.
bowdlerisation, 405 f.

Cacus
  death, 260
  genesis of myth, 198, 225 ff.
  locality of cave and *scalae*, 190 ff.
  original nature, 198
Caecilius Epirota (Q.), 3
Caecina, 523 ff.
Caere, 478 ff., 597 f.
Callimachus, 31-96, 416 ff., 421, 452 f.
Camillus, 630 ff.
Capitoline temple, 306 ff., 348 ff., 655
Capitolium, 306 ff., 357 f.
  Gallic attack, 652 f.
Carinae, 306 ff.
carmen Saliare, 285, 287, 663 f.
Carmentis, 51 f., 336 ff.
carpentum, 336 ff., 666
casa Romuli, 190 ff., 654
Catiline, 630 ff., 668 f.
Cato the Elder, 630 ff.
  Origines, 7, 492 ff.
Cato the Younger, 630 ff., 668 f., 670
Catullus, 19, 32, 54, 82, 91, 157 ff., 233, 518 f., 610, 660
Centaurs, 293 ff.
Cerberus, 293 ff., 297
Chalybes, 421
characterisation by style, 401 ff.
chronology of Tiber journey, 59
Cicero (poetry), 54, 82, 633, 695
circenses (*ludi*), 636
Claude, *The Arrival of Aeneas at Pallanteum*, 115
Claudian, 425, 630 f.
Claudius Caecus (Appius), 269 f.

cleansing ritual
  with incense, 106
  with water, 69 f.
Cleopatra, 688, 696, 697, 709
cliché, inept, 461
Cloelia, 646-51, 651
colonisation, 10 f., 336
conditional, 'mixed', 520 ff.
coniuratio totius Italiae, 679
conjugation, varying, 677
conjunctions, postponed, 22, 32, 454, (481), 650 f.
connective *et* in second place
  in clause, 91
  in verse, 9
copula, epexegetic, 436
corona navalis, 684
creation myth, 314-32, 315
Cretan bull, 293 ff.
Cronus, 319 f.
cum inversum, 26 ff. (main note), 97 ff., 276 f.
cum primum, generalising, 407 ff.
Cures, 638
Cyclades, 691 f.
Cyclopes, 416 ff.
Cyllene, 139
Cythera, 523

Dahae, 724 ff.
Dardanus, 37, 134
dative
  anomalous, with *precari*, 127
  of goal of motion, with compound verbs, 125
  of local standpoint, 212
  possessive, 104
  predicative, 536
Daunus, 146
demonstrative pronoun
  attracted to gender of predicate, 46
  genitive becomes dem. adj., 705
  oblique cases of *is* avoided, 33
diminutives, 44, 660
Diomedes, 9
Discordia, 702 f.
Donatus (Aelius), *Life of Virgil*, 3, 41, 42-9, 427
dreams, polluting, 69 f.
dum, confused with *cum*, 374 ff.

e-, privative and intensive, 610
Echenus, 333
Egyptian gods, 698
ἔκφρασις τόπου, 190, 233, 374-80, 416 ff., 478 ff., 597 (main note)
ἔκφρασις χρόνου, 26-35, 374-80, 416 ff.

electrum, 402
ellipse, of main verb, 18, 588, 678
endearment, expressions of, 581
Ennius, 6, 24, 29, 64, 72, 77, 82, 91, 94, 98, 119, 150, 166 f., 194, 221, 233, 242, 274, 329, 369, 405, 436, 487, 505, 520, 522, 526, 596, 599, 630 ff., 631, 642, 662, 679, 685, 695, 702 f., 731
Erulus, 563 ff.
esse, parts of, omitted in subordinate clause, 52, 175, 251, 410
  omitted in 'future infinitive', 534
Etna, 416 f., 416 ff.
Etruscans
  coastal sites, 479 f.
  culture, and Virgil, 65
  developers of astrology, 427; of augury, 498, 523 ff.
  eastern origin?, 479 f.
  Etrusca disciplina, 498
  human sacrifice, 485 ff.
  land-power, 65
  official insignia, 458, 505 f.
  relations with Latium, 55, 492 ff.
  sea-power, 475
etymology
  folk, 319 f., 322 f., 345 f., 425
  of proper names, 425
Evander, 51 f., 97 ff., 333, 336 ff., 508, 560 ff.
Evening Star, 280, 589 ff.

family streams, 142
fate
  delayed, 398 f.
  relation to chance, 334
Fauni, 314
Faunus
  as Pan, 343 f.
  as Silvanus, 600 f.
  festival, 663
Feronia, 563 ff.
fetiales, at treaty-making, 641
fiction, historical, 47 f.
figura etymologica, 683
flamines, 663 f.
Fontinalia, 74 ff.
foreign cults, 187, 698
formulae
  ritual, 74 f.
  stylised with proper name, 18
forum boarium, 198, 203, 285, 306 ff.
forum Romanum, 306 ff.
foundation legends and symbols, 43-5
fulmen consiliarium, 523 ff.
Fulvius Nobilior (M.), 630 ff.

Gellius (Aulus), 32, 84 f., 194, 227, 405 f., 544, 634, 652, 659, 684, 710
Geloni, 724 ff.
gender
  common, of animals, 641
  varying, 227, 233, 561
genealogy, far-fetched, 134-41
genitive
  'appositional', 231
  partitive, with neut. pl. adj., 221
  pl. in *-um*, 93, 127, 513; in *-uum*, 27
  possessive? (*Aventini mons*), 231
genius, incandescent, 680 f.
Geryon, 202, 563 ff.
glossae, in epic, 662
Golden Age, and degeneration, 314-32
Gorgon, symbol of shock, 435
Graecus ritus
  Hercules, 183, 276, 283 f.
  Saturn, 319 f.
Grattius, 33 f.
groves, numinous, 348 ff.

half-lines, 41, 469
haruspices, 498
head, (un)covered in worship, 276, 319 f.
Hellenistic influence, 408 ff., 560 ff.
hendiadys, 40, 289, 436, 531, 694
Hercules
  birth, 103, 289
  Invictus, 102, 198, 293
  labours, 209, 291, 293 ff.
  nodus, 260
  poplar associated with, 276
  portrayal by Virgil, 205 ff.
  scyphus, 278
  Tirynthius, 228
  worship: as *lar domesticus*, 542; at Ara Maxima, 102, 103, 285; by Salii?, 285; in countryside, 103; with tithes, 285; without *lectisternium*, 176, 279
Hermes, 138, 209 ff.
Heroic Age
  etiquette, 97 ff., 127, 157 ff., 463 f.
  stature, 162, 192, 250, 518 f.
  tact, 370 ff.
Hesiod, influence on Virgil, 314-32
Hesione, 157 f.
Homer, 31-96, 86-9, 86, 97 ff., 124, 127, 162, 172 f., 183 f., 195, 225 ff., 244 f., 274, 370 ff., 382 f., 387 f., 408 ff., 417, 438, 454 ff., 508, 523 ff., 560 ff., 589 ff., 619 f., 622 f., *et passim*

Homeric Hymn
to Hermes, 209 ff., 263
to Pan and Ares, 293
homoeoteleuton, 15 (main note), 389, 526, 545
Horace, 77, 82, 106, 209 ff., 276, 410, 526, 563 ff., 688, 693, 724 ff., *et alibi*
Horatius Cocles, 646-51
hut, pre-urban, 654
Hydra, Lernaean, 293 ff.
Hylaeus, 293 ff.
hymn, form and structure, 285 ff., 289, 290, 293 ff., 374-80
hypallage, 3, 183 f., 236 f., 526, 542, 654
hyperbaton, 21, 149
ὕστερον πρότερον
apparent, 85, 125
real, 201, 611 (main note)

Iapyx, 710
imperative, after *ne*, 39, 532
indicative
imperfect: conative and descriptive, 657; of continuing past action, 153; in *-ibam*, 436; with *dum*, 374 ff.
in indirect questions, 190 ff.
perfect in *-ere*, 53, 324
pluperfect: absolute, 152, 219 f., 276 f.; equivalent to (im)perfect, 358; with *ubi*, etc., 407 ff.
present: in catalogues, 141, 294; generalising, with *cum primum*, 407 ff.
infinitive
after verb of perceiving, 92 f.
after verb of representing, 630 f.
future, 534
historic (descriptive), 35, 215 f., 493 (main note), 689
of purpose, 112 f.
present: passive in *-ier*, 493; with *iubere*, 498, 646 f.; with *ardere*, 163 f.; with *est*, 676
insignia
of kings and consuls, 505 f.
of senators, 458
interpolated line, 46
Isis, cult in Rome, 698
Italy, sense of unity, 678

Janiculum, 306 ff.
locality, 357 f.
Janus, 357 f.
Julius Caesar, 670
Juno
as symbol, 60 f.
not identified with any other deity, 43-5, 84 f.
noverca, 288, 292
Jupiter
Capitolinus, 306 ff., 348 ff., 636
Feretrius, 348 ff.
Fulgur, 352 ff.
Stator, 640
Tonans, 306 ff., 352 ff.
Victor, 720

Laomedon, 18, 157 f.
lar, 542
Latium
etymology of name, 322 f.
prehistoric, 82, 314-32
Laurens, Laurentum?, 1
Lavinium, 1, 46
Leleges, 724 ff.
Lemnos, 454
Leucate, 677
Lipari, 416 f.
Livy and the *Aeneid*, 198, 210, 215 f., 630 ff., 642 f.
loan-words: Celtic and Punic, 662; Greek, 166 f., 278, 588
Lucan, 3, 116, 171, 179, 227, 260 f., 398 f., 425, 427, 487, 527, 543, 698, 723, 724 ff.
Lucifer, 589 ff.
Lucilius, 677
Lucretius, 2, 6, 19, 22, 27, 43, 64, 82, 160, 171, 215 f., 299, 314-32, 389 f., 391 f., 394, 409, 430, 436, 522, 633, 638, 659, 668 f., 677, 698
ludi magni (*Romani*), 636
Lupercal, 306 ff., 343 f. (main note), 630, 663 ff.
Luperci
on shield, 630 ff.
origin and ritual, 282, 663
Lycaeus mons, 343 f.

Macrobius, 7, 176, 244 f., 278, 279, 285 ff., 285, 383, 596, 679
Maia, 138 ff.
malleolus, 694
Manlius Capitolinus (M.), 652 f.
Manlius Torquatus (T.), 660 f.
mare Rubrum, 686
masculine precedence, in syntax, 209
matronae, 630 ff., 666
Memnon, 383 f.

Messapus, 6
metaphor, 19, 40, 307, 695
metathesis verborum, 3
metonymy, 181, 385 f., 409, 533
metre and verse (*see also* Appendix)
bucolic diaeresis, 24 (main note), 198, 388, 718
caesura, trochaic, in both fourth and fifth foot, 260
descriptive verse, 91, 219-24, 228 f., 237-9, 388, 446 f., 452 f., 489 f., 525, 549, 596, 705, 709-13
different verse-position of repeated word, 39, 52, 91
elision
descriptive effect, 446 f., 525, 705
of monosyllable, 13, 144, 503, 557
five-word line, 334
four-word line, 158, 263
'framing' of line
by noun and adjective, 32, 286
by participles, 63, 669, 712
by two finite verbs, 78, 230-2, 560 ff.
hypermetre, 228 f.
ictus and accent, clash of, 58, 452 f., 489 f.
line-ending
with monosyllable, 43, 71, 81-3, 400, 679
with two disyllables, 364, 382
with polysyllable, 416
(*and see* spondeiazon)
paragraph-closure, features, 393, 560 ff.
pauses, after verse-units:
–, 72
–⏑, 33
–⏑⏑, 1-6, 33, 59, 87, 151, 237-9, 484, 560 ff., 705
– –, 71, 502
–⏕–, 147, 227, 469, 540
–⏕–⏑, 175
–⏕–⏑⏑, 390, 525
–⏕–⏕–, 49 ff., 443
–⏕–⏕–⏑, 294, 549
–⏕–⏕–⏕–, 573 ff.
–⏕–⏕–⏕–⏑, 260
–⏕–⏕–⏕–⏑⏑, 24, 198
–⏕–⏕–⏕–⏕–⏑, 443, 533
rhyme
leonine, 649
medial and final, 8, 682
of successive line-endings, 268-72, 396 f., 568 f., 620 f., 646
sequential (*see* homoeoteleuton)
rhythmic pattern, 91
spondaic disyllable
in first foot, 502
in fourth foot, 57, 132
spondeiazon, 54, 167, 345, 402, 679
Mett(i)us Fufetius, 642, 642-5
Mez(z)entius, 7, 485 ff., 492 ff.
Minerva
and aegis, 435
and manual workers, 409
and Pallas Athene, 116, 699
Minio (Mignone), 597 f.
misrepresentation, 10 ff., 41, 55
Morini, 724 ff.
Morning Star, 589 ff.
Moschylus, 454
Mulciber, 724
multum in silentio, 23 ff., 59, 263, 531
myth, aetiological
Alba Longa, 43-5
Hercules and Cacus, 198
of birth of mankind, 315
Tarpeia, 652

Namatianus, Rutilius, *De Reditu Suo*, 478 ff., 561, 727
Nemean lion, 293 ff.
neologisms
adjectives, 82 (main note), 195, 552, 559
nouns, 89, 143 f.
verbs, 404, 677
Neptunus, 699
Nomades, 724 ff.
nomen omen, 315, 322 f.
nominative
appositional, 487
exclamatory, 77, cf. 487
nouns
in *-men(tum)*, 89
repeated to express reciprocity, 448 f.
subtleties of copulation, 436
nova cacozelia, 3 (main note), 23 ff., 183, 263, 542
numerals, distributive, 47, 168

Oceanus, 589 ff.
Oechalia, 290
olive branch, 116
onomatopoeia, 2, 596
Ovid, 33 f., 49 ff., 57, 65, 77, 84 f., 87, 153, 171, 197, 198, 260, 260 f., 279, 315, 322 f., 343 f., 348 ff., 364 f., 407 f., 425, 427, 451, 524, 680 f.

Palatine
  rival of Capitoline, 313
  settlement, 98 f.
Pallanteum, 51 f.
paragraphing, guides to, 78, 393, 560 ff.
parataxis, 7 f., 171, 190 ff., 225-30, 506 f.
Parrhasia, 343 f.
Parthia, 724 ff.
participles
  present: after verb of perceiving, 92 f.; after verb of representing, 630 f.; with future or past reference, 157 ff.
  perfect: with '-able' sense, 195, 559, 588; with present reference, 37, 407 f., 636
pathetic fallacy, 38, 92 f., 94, 239 f.
patronymic
  coinages of, 638, 648
  implications of, 521 f.
Pelasgi, 600
penates, 542
Penates publici populi Romani, 679
periphrasis
  dignified, 181
  with proper name (*Caci facies*) 194, (*Caci mens*) 205 ff.
  times of day and night, 97, 408 f.
Pheneus, 138, 165, 343 f.
pilentum, 666
Pinarius, 269 f.
Pliny the Elder, 33 f., 348 ff., 402, 427, 630 ff., 646-51, 684
Pliny the Younger, 74 ff., 82, 96
plural
  evasive, 379
  'oracular', 503
  poetic, 29 (main note), 219, 324, 362, 375, 463, 729
poplar
  and Hercules, 276, 286
  and rivers, 32
Porse(n)na, 646, 646-51
Porta Carmentalis, 306 ff.
Potitius, 269 f.
Potitus, Valerius, 285
prayers
  at sunrise, 68 f.
  pro populo, 106
preposition, delayed, 143 f.
proleptic adjectives and participles, 37 (main note), 227, 260 f., 364 f.
pronouns
  omitted: object of *iubere*, 498, 646 f.; reflexive subject in O.O. 534
  personal, mutually attracted, 475
  relative, postponed, 37
proper names, ornamental, 166, 364 f.
Propertius, 94, 152, 198, 205, 209 ff., 260, 275, 526, 662, 675 ff., 678, 688, 696, 698 f.
prosody
  dĕhīnc, 337; *Ī̆talus*, 331; *-quē...-qu(ĕ)*, 425; *rēligio, rēliquiae*, 349; *Sīcănius, Sĭcānus*, 328
  semi-consonantal *i*, 194 (*semihominis*), 227 (*obice*), 297 (*semesa*), 599 (*abiete*)
  syllable, 'irrationally' lengthened under ictus, 98 (*procūl*), 363 (*subiīt*), 425 (*-quē...-quĕ*)
  syncope, 73 (*periclis*), 274 (*porgite*)
  synizesis, 66 (*de͞inde*), 292 (*Eurystheo͞*), 372 (*aure͞o*), 383 (*Nere͞i*)
  vowel-length, distinct from syllabic quantity, 43, 227, 599
purification, by water, 69 f.
Pyrgi, 478 ff.

-que, relation of nouns so joined, 220, 289, 436
  -que...-que, 94, 291
  -que et, 731
Quintilian, 82, 94, 641, 677, 728
quisque with plural verb, 661

religious continuity, interrupted, 110
repetition
  intentional: diplomatic, 17; pathetic, 71; rhetorical, 133, 140 f.; ritual, 71, 74 f., 84 f., 293 ff.
  of line(s), 20 f., 35, 46, 80, 149, 171, 207 f., 305, 538 ff., 667, 690
  of passage, 42-9, 449-53
  of phrase, 23 ff., 28, 104, 173, 183 f., 268-72, 448 f., 579, 679, 709
  of word in close context, 194, 205, 242, 378, 396 f., 568 f., 657
revision, lack of final, 268-72, 532 ff., 543, 654
rhetoric
  anaphora, 349 f., 560 ff., 564 ff.
  exordia, 374-80
  four-hexameter unit, 1-6, 374-80, 560 ff.
  organisation of speech, 127 ff., 560 ff.
  tricolon, of diminishing length, 230-2
river-gods
  dress of, 33 f., 711 f.
  'home' of, 65

river-gods (*cont.*)
  horned, 77, 727
  prophetic, 62 ff., 74 ff., 336 ff.
  shrines of, 74 ff.
rivers
  flowing backwards, 87
  venerated, 31, 32, 74 ff.
Rumon, 90

Sabaei, 706
Salii
  on shield, 630 ff.
  origin and ritual, 287, 663 f.
  Palatini and Collini, 287
  worshipping Hercules?, 285
Saturnus, 314, 319 f., 322
scalae Caci, 190 ff., 198
Seneca the Younger, 348 ff., 364 f., 427, 523 ff.
separation, of connected words, 28 f., 391 f.
Shield of Aeneas, 625, (subject-matter) 630 ff., (arrangement) 671, 672, 675
shields, 562, 625
Sicani, 328
Siculi, 328
sidus Iulium, 680 f.
significant names, 250, 425
Silius Italicus, 227, 438, 456, 527, 659, 660, 662
Silvanus, 600 f.
similes
  length, 374-80
  points of comparison, 408 ff.
  treatment of sources, 22 ff., 408 ff.
simple verb, for compound, 110, 189, 329, 345 f., 639
singular, collective, 34, 153, 474, 599, 705 f.
sky, Etruscan division of, 427
snake symbolism, 697
soloecophanes, 260 f.
somnus, half-personified, 67
sordida vocabula, avoided, 181, 456, 620 f.; cf. 44, 205
sound-patterns, 2, 391 f., 446 f., 603, 644 f.
sow, legend of, 43-5
spear-worship, 3
spinning, classless activity, 411 f.
Statius, 8, 74 f., 77, 297, 301, 404, 461, 560 ff., 662
Stoic dogma, 133, 334, 398 f.
strangers, unwelcome at festival, 172 f.
suasoria, 10 ff., 374 ff.
subject, abrupt change of, 119, 271, 494-6, 546
subjunctive
  in causal clause, 129 f., 323, 650 f.
  of wish, 560
  past jussive, 643
  pluperfect, in final clause, 205 f.
  potential (second person singular), 650
Sueius, 90
Suetonius, 3, 306 ff., 663 ff., 724
synaesthetic expressions, with *video(r)*, 35, 526
syncope, 73, 274
syncretism, 314, 342 f.

table, used for altar, 279
taboo
  as proof of antiquity, 663 f.
  on enemy weapons, 562
  on ministrants, 179
  on victims, 544
Tarcho, 9, 505 ff.
Tarpeia, 652
Tarquinius Superbus, 646-51, 652
Teucer, 134
'theme and variation', 7 f. (form), 52, 74 f., 88, 171 (history), 215 f., 241-58, 289, 349 f., 375, 461 f., 611, 620 f., 627
Thybris, 72, 330 f.
Tiber, 31, 62, 65, 77, 86, 96, 473
Tiberinus, 31, 72
tibicen, 212, 268-72, 469
Tibullus, 1, 46
time
  as material object, 94
  circumlocutions for, 97, 369, 408 f.
  historical time telescoped, 715 f., 717 f., 720
topography, confused, 215 f., 236 f., 461
  of site of Rome, 306 ff.
transition
  dusk to dawn, 369
  marked by *iam*, 190
  and *iamque adeo*, 585
trees, men-bearing, 315
trumpet-omen, 523 ff.
Tullus Hostilius, 642-5
tumultus, procedure for, 1
Turnus, 1, 3, 9, 492 ff., 562, 621
Typhoeus, 293 ff.
Typhon, 293 ff.

Ufens, 6

Vaccina, 597 f.
Valerius Flaccus, 3, 32, 68 f., 77, 97 ff., 98, 260 f., 408 ff., 416 f., 425, 454, 475 f., 523 ff., 560 ff., 562
Valerius Probus, M., 405 f.
variation of prose idiom, 3, 56, 385 f., 405 f., 475 f., 510, 569 f., 651
Varro, M. Terentius, 43-5, 89, 276, 306 ff., 319 f., 322 f., 330 f., 345 f., 357 f., 358, 420 f., 436, 679, 684
Velabrum, 306 ff.
Venulus, 9
Venus, at Actium, 699
verse, *see* metre
victims, sacrificial
  age, 544
  sex and colour, 84 f.
Vipranius?, 3
Virgil
  ancient criticism of, 3, 41, 276, 285, 383, 405 f., 492 ff., 731
  and Cisalpine Gaul, 668 f., 678
  Etruscan connections?, 65
vocative, 'archaic', 77
Volcanal, 198
Vulcan, 198, 416 f., 454
Vulcano, 416 f., 416 ff.

word-order (*and see* Appendix)
  interwoven, 28 ff., 168, 391 f., 689
  symmetrical, 32, 95 f., 276, 454, 458, 526, 616, 654, 684, 702

zeugma, 260 f., 731, (of abstract and concrete) 226 f., cf. 731